

TUESDAY, MARCH 15, 1983

For the Kremlin to hear

JERUSALEM was not the originally planned venue for the latest World Conference on Soviet Jewry. Twice before, in 1971 and 1976, the conference met in Brussels, and it was initially scheduled to be convened in Paris last fall. But the Lebanese war caused a change in schedule and place.

Holding the conference in Israel's capital underlines, not least to Soviet Jews themselves, the fact that the demand on the Soviet authorities to open their gates to the exodus and repatriation of Jews, is primarily a matter between the State of Israel and the Soviet Union, despite the absence of diplomatic relations.

At first glance, this might seem a bad time in which to stress the primacy of repatriation — or, in simple Hebrew, aliya — at the expense of the demand for emigration as such. For what was for a short while a tide of Jews leaving the Soviet Union — 51,000 Jews emigrated in 1979, a record year — has lately slowed down to a trickle. This is not because Soviet Jews have resigned themselves to a life of discrimination and degradation as second-class citizens in the land of their birth. Some 400,000 Soviet Jews have, in fact, taken the trouble to obtain invitations from relatives in Israel to be reunited with them.

The drastic decline in Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union has been due strictly to an official policy of repression, which has also taken the form of hounding and imprisonment of Zionist and cultural activists.

It is, therefore, an appropriate time to bring the full weight of world public opinion to bear on the Kremlin in support of the right of Soviet Jews to come out and live as free Jews in Israel. Emigration is, after all, a basic human right, to which even the Soviet Union is ostensibly committed.

Yet if Soviet Jews have at all been allowed by their rulers to leave, it was not in recognition of this basic human right, but as a practical arrangement for the reunification of Jewish families in the Jewish state. This arrangement made it possible for the Soviet authorities to rid themselves of some chronically discontented Jews, but in a way that would not apply to other Soviet nationalities (with the exception of the Germans, who have been permitted to emigrate to West Germany).

One important reason for the recent squeeze on Jewish emigration has without a doubt been the steadily rising number of dropouts on the way to Israel. To those among the Kremlin hierarchy who have all along opposed the departure of the Jews, this was a good excuse to clamp down on the Jewish exodus. The right of the Jews to emigrate to wherever they pleased could not be granted.

But this, to be sure, was not the only reason. Soviet sensitivity to world public opinion, demonstrated in the wake of the two Brussels conferences, was bound to decline with the cooling off in East-West relations. If the issue of Jewish emigration is to be taken up by the Kremlin again, it will most likely be in the context of some political "package deal" to be worked out by the new Andropov administration with the West, notably with the U.S.

For such a deal to benefit the cause of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union, however, the primacy of aliya must be maintained. Jewish emigrants from the Soviet Union are not political refugees, although Washington has chosen to grant them that status; they are potential citizens of the State of Israel.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 16, 1983

A sound choice

THE CHOICE of Aluf Moshe Levi by the cabinet yesterday, on the recommendation of Defence Minister Moshe Arens, as Israel's next chief of staff, is both sound and logical. The man who, until his new appointment, was the deputy chief of staff, has come up through the ranks by demonstrating dedication and ability. Though said to lack military glamour, he makes up for it with outstanding soldierly competence.

His level-headed approach — during the Lebanese war he avoided army infighting and concentrated on the mundane business of working out budgets and ensuring a steady supply of arms to the front — may have been the thing that attracted Mr. Arens to Aluf Levi.

Unlike his predecessor, Rafael Eitan, he may be expected not to become a propagandist for the doctrine of Greater Eretz Yisrael, though as a good soldier, he will reflect official views.

In getting the army's top post, Moshe Levi bested two other outstanding generals, Avigdor Ben-Gal and Dan Shomron. It would be a great loss to the IDF, and to the country, if either of them were now to petulantly resign from the service. They have a great deal to contribute in leadership and originality of thought. Every effort should be made to keep them in.

Dry Bones



WEDNESDAY, MARCH 16, 1983

Public medicine threatened

WHATEVER the precise final outcome of the agonizing doctors' strike in terms of higher salaries and better working conditions for the country's working physicians, public medicine may well come out the loser from this contest of wills.

This would be a real tragedy. Thanks to its system of public medicine, mainly sponsored by the sick funds, Israel has for decades boasted one of the highest standards of health care in the world. Access to the best that clinics and hospitals had to offer was denied to no one. And the egalitarian principle was resolutely maintained: from everyone — in the form of taxes, or dues — according to his ability; to everyone according to his need.

Now this splendid system is threatened with at least partial privatization. The result would inevitably be one system of health care, the better one, for the rich — and another, the poorer one, for the poor. Paradoxically, all parties to the present dispute would be to blame if this happens: the doctors, the government, and the Histadrut labour federation.

The doctors, who mistrust both the government and the Histadrut — and who have their own trade union in the form of the Israel Medical Association — have come up with the idea of a sick fund of their own, at least for the duration of the strike. The idea may, however, linger beyond the strike. Contributions to such a sick fund would certainly not be based on the ability of patients to pay.

The prospect does not seem to faze the government unduly. If, in consequence of the strike, the Histadrut's Kupat Holim sick fund, the largest of them all, is set back, even mortally hurt, the Likud administration, it may be surmised, would shed few tears. For Kupat Holim is deemed a citadel of Labour power.

Admittedly the Histadrut is caught on the horns of a painful dilemma. On the one hand, it is supposed to represent workers' interests, which should logically have led it to back the doctors against the government. On the other hand, it is, through Kupat Holim, an employer of doctors, just like the government. In deciding on its approach to the strike, however, the Histadrut as trade union chose to focus on the danger to last year's collective agreement from a settlement that would breach the 22 per cent wage rise limit.

But the Histadrut's main consideration in the strike appears in any case to have been the threat to its own interests as employer. Thus it has ranged itself, in effect, on the side of the government in opposing not only the doctors' tactics but their demands as well. For this show of cooperation, the Labour federation need not expect any gratitude. Sooner or later the Finance Minister, for all his present tough stance, will settle it with the doctors — and leave the Histadrut's Kupat Holim, and the entire system of public medicine in the lurch.

THURSDAY, MARCH 17, 1983

Aridor's raincoat

THE MONTHLY consumer price index is the weighted average of a whole range of items, and any month is liable to show an unusual increase in the price of some particular item in the index. This, then, will be the villain in the piece, and the thought might easily occur to someone in authority that it ought to be wholly disregarded.

Not long ago, in fact, a cabinet minister suggested that housing prices, because they tended to spoil the image of the index, should be excluded from it altogether.

Now it seems to be the turn of fruits and vegetables. The weather was pretty bad in February, as it had been in January, so the prices of fruits and vegetables rose by a steep 17 per cent. This, the Treasury insists, is an Act of God responsible for a full quarter of the 6.1 per cent index rise last month. But the Treasury itself, so it insists, cannot be held accountable for an Act of God.

In the heat of argument the little fact has been forgotten that the February index also reflects the decision by most of the country's stores to advance their end-of-season sales, thus bringing down the prices of clothing and footwear. Also overlooked has been the fact that the prices of most uncontrolled commodities and services showed an increase of 7 to 10 per cent.

What all this seems to indicate is that Finance Minister Yoram Aridor's policy of repressing inflation is doomed. Mr. Aridor has been banking on a 5 per cent monthly devaluation and a roughly 5 per cent monthly rise in the prices of controlled commodities and services in his effort to keep inflation down to a monthly rate of 5 per cent.

But the average rate of inflation for the first two months of this year has been 7.2 per cent, which would translate into 130 per cent annually, the same as last year. The pull of demand, it appears, is stronger than the push of slower devaluation.

Slower devaluation, however, is wreaking havoc with the country's balance of payments. Earlier this week the Central Bureau of Statistics released figures showing that the trade deficit for the first two months of this year was 20 per cent higher than that for the corresponding period in 1982. While imports are rising, exports are declining.

Since actual catastrophe has not yet overtaken Israel's supposedly affluent society, Mr. Aridor is content to reap the political benefits of artificial affluence. But this only means the fall will be that much more painful.

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Posing in the Knesset last week after his election as the country's next president are Chaim Herzog and his wife Aura. Behind them, left to right, are their children Ronit, Michael and Yitzhak. Son Yoel is abroad. (Rahamim Israeli)

Herzog's surprise win ruffles coalition

The election last week of opposition candidate for president Chaim Herzog had been expected to create political turmoil in its wake. But by the weekend, as a result of Prime Minister Menachem Begin's low-key response to the coalition's stinging defeat, the situation appeared to stabilize.

In a secret ballot, the Knesset chose MK Herzog over the coalition's candidate, Supreme Court Justice Menachem Elon, by a count of 61 to 57. Begin's coalition ordinarily commands 64 votes.

At first there was speculation that the coalition might engage in a "witch-hunt" to discover the identities of the seven defectors.

But although Begin decided, ostensibly, to let bygones be bygones, ("These things happen," he said after the vote) there were still rumblings beneath the surface, with coalition leaders continuing to speculate about the defectors.

Coalition sources predict that it will be a long time before the coalition can overcome the suspicion and mistrust that the defeat generated. Recriminations and factional vindictiveness can now be expected to abound.

Deputy Prime Minister Simha

(Continued on Page 2)

THE LATEST NEWS FROM ISRAEL

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צא לאור בירושלים

- Profile of a president-elect, page 10
- What makes Gush Emunim tick, page 12
- Changing face of the Middle East, 13
- A born woman 'fighter' explains, 18
- The Arts, 17; Business on 20, 21

Lebanon talks focus on security arrangements Haddad's future is key issue

The buoyant optimism that attended Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir's recent talks in Washington on Lebanon seems to have given way to a more sober assessment of the time and effort that will be required to conclude an agreement.

Officials in Jerusalem spoke of "progress" but cautioned that there was still "a great deal more work to be done."

One of the major obstacles to an accord is over the future of Major Sa'ad Haddad's pro-Israel militia in South Lebanon.

Some high-level policymakers asserted that there had been a distinct hardening of the American position. The American "new ideas" submitted to Shamir in Washington had become tougher in certain respects when they were subsequently committed to paper and conveyed to Israel by Ambassador Samuel Lewis according to these policymakers.

The policymakers purported to detect the work of special envoy Philip Habib in this toughening process. They felt that Secretary of State George Shultz, with whom Shamir had conducted his talks in Washington, was more sympathetic to Israeli security concerns in South Lebanon than Habib.

Israeli officials said there has been a detailed exchange of "proposals, counter-proposals, and counter-counter-proposals," mainly on the issues of security. The issues



Major Sa'ad Haddad

of "mutual relations" between Israel and Lebanon were touched on more briefly.

Israel sees Haddad as pivotal in its scheme for ensuring the security of the northern border area. Having withdrawn its earlier demand for Israel Defence Forces-manned military posts inside Southern Lebanon, Israel attaches vital significance to Haddad's remaining in effective command of the area, at the head of a "territorial division" of the Lebanese Army that would comprise in the main his Christian and Shiite militiamen.

These men, led by Haddad, Israeli policymakers believe, will provide an adequate and competent force able to prevent a return of PLO units to the south.

Before the war in Lebanon, Haddad's militia held a narrow strip along the border — and kept it virtually clear of terrorists. Now, under the Israeli scheme, the Lebanese "territorial division" based on Haddad's force would be deployed much deeper, covering such major centres as Tyre and Nabatiya and ensuring that the Golan settlements are safe from rocket and artillery fire as well as from infiltration.

The Israeli policymakers are sceptical of the Lebanese Army's ability to police the area — unless Haddad and his men are integrated into the army and given the task.

Being local men, their motivation to keep the area peaceful and free of the PLO would be immeasurably higher than that of Lebanese soldiers brought in from the north, according to the Israeli viewpoint.

But Lebanese negotiators are adamant that Haddad go.

The U.S. in effect supports Lebanon on this issue, inasmuch as the American proposals for security arrangements in South Lebanon make no provision for Haddad to stay on in command of the area.

Israeli sources offer three reasons to explain the Beirut government's determination to oust Haddad, who has been offered a military attaché's post abroad, from South Lebanon: Some elements in Lebanon still feel Haddad deserted from the PLO units to the south.

(Continued on Page 2)

Steps to avoid clashes with Marines

Jerusalem Post Staff and Agencies

The commander of the U.S. Marine contingent of the Multi-National Force (MNF) in Lebanon and Tal-Aluf (brigadier) Amnon Lipkin met last week and agreed on measures to avoid future confrontations between their troops around Beirut, a U.S. Embassy statement said.

The statement said the two sides also agreed to establish "an additional channel of communication to be used for sharing operational information."

It quoted U.S. Marine commander Col. James Mead as telling the Israeli officers that to "enhance the peace-keeping role of the MNF, tension and misunderstanding between the U.S. contingent of the MNF and the Israel Defence Force must be avoided."

Earlier in the week U.S. Marine commander James Mead charged the Israelis with endangering civilians and peacekeepers by their "gross lack of fire discipline". Lipkin, in an interview with the Associated Press 24 hours later, denied that Israeli fire randomly in areas where peacekeepers or civilians are located.

There have been a series of confrontations between the Israeli army and the U.S. Marines since January.

Lipkin told a press conference on Thursday that terrorists were operating from areas patrolled by U.S. Marines and other international troops.

The Reagan administration was sharply criticized last week by *The New York Times* because of the recent friction between Marines and Israeli soldiers.

In an editorial, the newspaper lashed out against Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger for refusing to establish better direct liaison between U.S. and Israeli officers.

"Whatever their quarrels," it said, "both nations boast disciplined military forces. Any real disputes in Lebanon should have been settled weeks ago, at the highest levels if necessary. For the Reagan administration now to let soldiers inflame the controversy with poisonous political speculation about Israel is diplomacy at its sleaziest."

But the U.S. administration is set on trying to improve U.S.-Israel relations, according to a senior State Department official.

Observers pointed to the Pentagon announcement last week of the sale of an additional 200 Sidewinder air-to-air missiles to Israel — a deal valued at some \$16 million. U.S. Defence Department officials said that is the first new military sale approved for Israel since the war in Lebanon. Arms that earlier had been approved and were "in the pipeline" were sent to Israel on schedule — with the exception of the 75 F-16 fighters now held up for over one year. (See Page 9)

Passover greetings

We wish readers a very happy Passover.

Because of the holidays there may be a delay in the delivery of next week's issue of *The International Edition*. We hope of course that this will not be the case.

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Hussein meeting Arafat for 'crucial' round of talks

Jerusalem Post Staff and Agencies

Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat is due to meet with Jordan's King Hussein in Amman at the beginning of this week — an encounter which Hussein has said will have a "crucial" bearing on his decision whether or not to join the U.S.-sponsored Middle East peace process.

The meeting was announced last week by one of Arafat's top aides, Khalil Wazir (Abu Jihad), in an interview with Jordan's English-language daily *Jordan Times*.

Wazir is quoted as telling the paper that the two leaders would discuss "new dimensions" the PLO wishes to add to Jordanian conditions for joining the peace process on the basis of the initiative launched by U.S. President Ronald Reagan last September.

An indication that the need for an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza may be one of the "new dimensions" Arafat and Hussein will discuss came last week

from another top PLO leader, Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad).

Speaking to the radical Kuwait daily *al-Wakeel*, Arafat's No. 2 man in the mainstream Fatah organization, made it plain that the PLO would authorize Hussein to enter the peace process only on the basis of the peace plan adopted at last September's Arab summit in Fez. The plan, unlike the Reagan blueprint, calls for an independent Palestinian state.

The Palestinians, he stressed, have endorsed the Fez plan as "the maximum level of concessions the PLO would give in the interest of peace."

In Washington, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz was described as very optimistic that a troop-withdrawal agreement in Lebanon will be achieved in the near future. Shultz was also said to be confident that Hussein will then enter the U.S.-sponsored peace process.

Shultz's optimism was described by Israel's former ambassador to the U.S. Simcha Diniz. They met last week at the State Department.

Axe attack on land dealer

KARNEI SHOMRON (Dim). — Moshe Zar, one of the best known Jewish land dealers on the West Bank, was critically injured on Friday when he was repeatedly slashed around the neck with an axe and then shot in the arm by a man who ambushed him outside his mansion in this West Bank settlement near Nablus. It was reported that the attacker was known to Zar.

The security forces said they had arrested seven men, including one suspect who had confessed. He told them he had hidden the axe and the gun after fleeing from the scene. Investigators say the assault was a criminal action related to land deals in Samaria.

Three of the others arrested have been released.

Zar, now in Meir Hospital, Kfar Sava, underwent an emergency operation and was reported "out of danger." The hospital director termed his survival "a miracle."

The land dealer was attacked as he set out from his home to meet a local resident, according to police. He was walking towards his car when a man attacked him, hitting him several times in the neck with an axe. Then as Zar lay bleeding, his attacker shot him with a pistol, hitting him in the elbow.

In the past few years, Moshe Zar

has become known as the biggest land dealer in Samaria, where most of his deals were made with local Arab residents.

According to Israel Radio, Zar has been charged in the past with buying Arab land illegally and had angered some Jewish residents.

In the wake of the attack on Zar, Gush Emunim called on Defence Minister Moshe Arens to take action to maintain law and order on the West Bank.

Meanwhile security forces lifted the curfew on a West Bank refugee camp — Dheisheh, near Bethlehem — last week, but curfews remained in force on the Jelzoun refugee camp near Ramallah and on the towns of Dahariya and Halhoul.

In general, there were fewer incidents of stone-throwing last week.

'Strike' of doctors

The work sanctions by doctors in public service continued last week as talks went on to try to break the deadlock over pay. It is nearly a month now that medical services have been disrupted.

Representatives of the doctors are due to meet Finance Minister Yoram Aridor and Health Minister Eliezer Shostak this week in an effort to end the dispute.



Bat Yam schoolchildren prepare for Pesach by learning to make their own matza, watched by the town's Deputy Mayor David Mesika (seated at head of table). Holiday preparations were under way throughout the country as people cleared their homes of the last traces of *chametz* (leaven) before Pesach, which began on Monday night. The Tel Aviv Municipality readied 1,000 festive meals for needy families, and special *seder* meals were planned in immigrant absorption centres. (Freiden)

HERZOG'S VICTORY

(Continued from Page 1)

their identities. This would only heighten antagonisms within the coalition and yield no constructive results, he feels.

The election result is no pretext for creating an upheaval in the coalition, Begin argued. He maintained that despite what top Likud whips have been saying for days, he never regarded the vote as a personal test or as a test for the coalition. He never threatened to resign if Elon were rejected, Begin's spokesmen stressed.

"Milo, like Ehrlich, accused fellow coalition MKs of having 'brazenly lied' when they promised to vote for Elon. 'Just think that these people will have to make important decisions about this nation's future. The problem is if they can be trusted,' he complained.

Milo made no mention of his pledge before the vote to donate \$1 million to the Israel Defence Fund (Lift) if Elon were defeated.

Herut's Eliahu Ben-Eliasar and Yosef Rom also called for elections. Outside the Likud MK Geula Cohen (Tehiya) said she would officially propose to Begin that he try to schedule early elections. "Whoever voted for Herzog from among the coalition members wanted to hurt this government," she said.

Education Minister Zevulun Hammer (NRP) called the defections a "parliamentary blow" to the Government.

The odd man out in the coalition was La'am MK Ehud Olmert, who asserted "there is no real political significance to the vote. It was personal and will not affect the ability of the coalition to carry on, although there will be outrage, suspicion and tension within."

Olmert argued that the vote does not mean a parliamentary upset and will not bring Labour to power.

There was no lack of rumours about who defected.

Fear of defamation prevents publication of rumoured names.

One element of this propaganda was the allegation that a number of Alignment MKs did not vote for

HADDAD

(Continued from Page 1)

Lebanese Army during the civil war; some feel he is a puppet of the IDF; many in Beirut feel Lebanon must choose its own man for the southern command, and not accede to an Israeli *diktat*, since otherwise, Lebanese sovereignty will be compromised.

The sense of deepening impasse in the Israel-Lebanese negotiations was heightened at the weekend when Lebanese Prime Minister Shafik Wazzan was quoted in the Beirut press as saying that Lebanon can make no further concessions.

"The Lebanese position has reached the limit," Wazzan was quoted as saying by the authoritative daily *Al-Nahar*. "Lebanon has given all it can while still maintaining its sovereignty and dignity."

American envoy Habib will meet with Foreign Minister Shamir this week in another effort to break the deadlock over the future of Haddad. Habib flew back to Israel from Beirut Saturday bringing with him, according to Lebanese radio and television, "new ideas" regarding Haddad and the security of the south.

At an Israel-Lebanon-U.S. negotiating session in Netanya on Friday there was no progress made, and Israel's chief delegate, David Kimche, warned pointedly that Israel had "other alternatives" if the talks remain deadlocked.

This remark was seen as a reference to the possibility — headlined in *Ma'ariv* on Friday — that Israel might decide on a unilateral withdrawal south to the Awa River if the talks with Lebanon continued much longer without agreement on the security issues.

Senior officials in Jerusalem deny that the government is actually contemplating this option. But they do not deny that it could be available as a last resort, in lieu of a negotiated agreement.

For the moment, at any rate, Jerusalem is plainly still not giving up hope of an agreement and is pressing hard for an acceptable formulation that would enable Haddad to be integrated into the Lebanese Army and remain in command of security in the south.

Israel forces continued to suffer casualties last week. Five Israeli soldiers were wounded last week when they stepped on anti-personnel mines near the town of Nabrah in Lebanon's Shouf mountains. They were flown to Haifa's Rambam Hospital.

One of them was seriously wounded. Three were suffering from medium wounds in the legs and one was lightly wounded by splinters in his face.

Army officials said they do not believe the incident was a sabotage attempt directed against the IDF, but that the Christian owner of the house in question had placed the mines in order to protect his property from Druse neighbours. In the past, Druse in the village have plundered and burned homes left empty by Christian residents who have fled the area.

In another incident, gunmen attacked an Israeli patrol in a village south of Beirut with rocket propelled grenades (RPG) but caused no casualties.

They will celebrate the *seder* near Geneva with the family of World Sephardi Federation president Nesim Gaon and their oldest son Yosi whose wife is Gaon's daughter.

(Compiled from reports by Sarah Hontig and Asher Wallfish.)

NEWS REPORT

Russians more involved in Syria

By HIRSH GOODMAN
Post Defence Correspondent

Reserve duty in the coming year will be about 45 days for soldiers in fighting units and about 60 days for specialists and technicians, Chief-of-Staff-designate Aluf Moshe Levi said last week. This is less than many reservists have served this year, but more than in recent years.

Speaking to military correspondents in Tel Aviv, Levi said that the year's work plan for the Israel Defence Forces includes the possibility of a continued stay in Lebanon.

As a result of the Lebanon war, the IDF's training schedules have been adversely affected. Emphasis

will be placed on training ground forces, both to achieve a higher standard of performance and to familiarize them with lessons learned during the war.

The IDF will grow in strength, Levi said, as a result of incorporating modern weapons systems into all forces. The Merkava Mk II battle tank will soon be going into service. More Israeli-made Kfir jets will be purchased, and the navy is scheduled to introduce new technology.

Since 1973, Levi said, the Arab states have spent \$80 billion on arms and military infrastructure, \$52 billion of which was spent by the Arab nations in the U.S. Arms

purchased included all main battle systems, ranging from ground-to-ground missiles to Soviet T-72 tanks.

He said that Soviet involvement in Syria became much deeper recently and that for the first time Soviet advisers have been stationed with Syrian troops. The placement of SA-5 Soviet-manned missiles on Syrian territory and indications of other Soviet steps were not encouraging.

In response to a question, Levi said that the IDF was prepared for a war with Syria in the spring or any other time, since it was the IDF's job to be ready for any eventuality. This did not mean, however, that a war was to be expected, he stressed.

Eight new settlements planned

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The government has reportedly approved eight new settlements on the crest of the Samaritan hills, where much of the West Bank Arab population is concentrated, including the embryo of a city, Upper Nablus, overlooking the Arab city.

Israel Radio reported last week that the cabinet had approved eight new settlements, but a spokesman of the World Zionist Organization's Settlement Department told *The Jerusalem Post* that the department had proposed only five new civilian settlements and three military outposts (*ma'alahim*) that can later be converted into civilian settlements.

All eight sites are on the crest of the hills, rather than on the western slopes of Samaria close to the Green Line (1967 borders) where most settlement activity has been carried out to date, and where the Arab population is relatively sparse.

The most significant of the new settlements reportedly approved is the one designated for Ma'alah Bracha overlooking Nablus. The chairman of the Settlement Department, Mattityahu Droblis, has proposed the creation here of Upper Nablus which will eventually number 2,000-5,000 families. At the beginning, however, it will be a rural "community settlement."

The department spokesman said that the "technical means" did not

presently exist for developing the three sites proposed as *ma'alahim* into settlements. The request for government approval of the new sites was made about three weeks ago and had nothing to do with the political situation in the area. "It's according to our development timetable," he said.

Our Knesset Correspondent adds:

Mapam leader Victor Shemtov criticized the government decision and said it was deliberately timed to slam the door in the face of Jordan's King Hussein and create an even more serious political impasse than before.

Labour's Yossi Sarid called the decision "a tombstone for Middle East peace prospects."



Rabbi Yisrael Ariel, alleged to be the spiritual leader of the suspects accused of plotting to invade the Temple Mount on March 10, is greeted by his supporters outside Jerusalem police headquarters last week. (See page 9.) (Ruhumm Israeli)

Israel accuses the EEC of 'distortion'

Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Israel hit back bitterly last week at a European Economic Community statement on the Middle East, accusing the Ten of "total distortion." Israel "utterly rejected" the Europeans' call for a halt to the building of settlements in the West Bank.

The EEC leaders, meeting in Brussels earlier in the week, blasted the settlements as illegal and a "growing and a major obstacle" to

a Middle East peace settlement.

The Israeli statement asserted that "the only obstacle to peace is the refusal of the Arab governments to conduct negotiations on the subject without preconditions."

The EEC leaders called on Israel specifically to "show that it stands ready for genuine negotiations." In response to this, the Israeli statement charged the Europeans with "total distortion... for Israel alone among all the parties to the conflict has incessantly demanded peace

negotiations." The Israeli statement said it is "incomprehensible" how the EEC leaders arrived at their assessment that the recent resolutions of the Palestine National Council, meeting in Algiers, are a potential contribution to peace.

The Israeli broadside accuses the Europeans of "unrealism" and notes that they have "completely ignored the only stabilizing element in recent Middle East developments: the Camp David accords."

Modern exodus



Pessah will be marked by a new exodus this year — that of Israelis going abroad for the holiday.

An unprecedented number of residents are taking advantage of special discounts offered by El Al for the holiday season. The airline is adding 46 flights to its regular schedule, to handle the extra travellers.

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NEWS REPORT

Media ban on 'PLO supporters' lifted

The High Court of Justice last week ordered the Broadcasting Authority to cancel its year-old ban on interviews with "public figures" in the West Bank and Gaza Strip identified as considering the PLO to be the legitimate representative of the Arabs in those areas.

Only Gavriel Bash, one of the three justices hearing the petition by Tel Aviv attorney Amnon Zichroni, ruled against the Authority on the broad issues of freedom of speech and fairness. He was joined by Justices Dov Levin and Yehuda Cohen only in declaring the wording of the ban unreasonably vague, and therefore unenforceable. The majority accepted the Authority's arguments that the policy was justified in principle by considerations of public security and order.

Broadcasting Authority chairman Reuven Yaron, reacting to the court decision, said that Israel TV would abide by the ruling and would not discuss the matter further. Since the Authority's board of directors voted last year against TV reporters' initiating interviews with West Bank personalities, only interviews conducted by foreign correspondents or by reporters abroad have been aired.

But with the High Court decision, TV will initiate interviews with West Bank mayors "when the news merits it," according to the Authority spokesman. Asked whether reporters would unofficially be discouraged by their editors from conducting such interviews, the spokesman said: "One will be able to judge only as time passes, and one sees what appears on the screen."

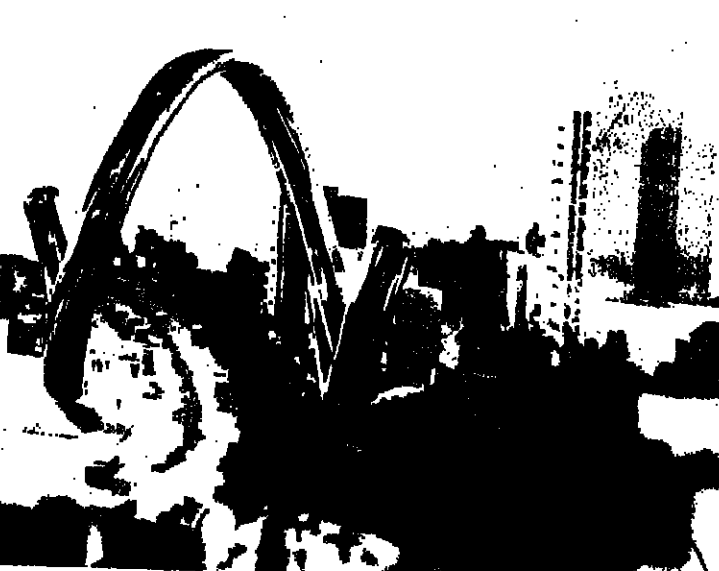
Levin accepted Zichroni's argument that the ban was too vague in defining the terms "public figures" and "identified" with the PLO. The Broadcasting Authority had argued in defence of its policy, the justice noted, that it is unfeasible to examine in each case whether the individual in question fits into these categories, according to clearly established criteria. Were this possible, Levin stressed, he would have rejected the petition.

Addressing the issue of free expression, Levin admitted that it is a fundamental principle of Israel law, but said it is limited by the public interest when a threat to order or state security is involved.

Applying this to the case in question, the justice cited Israel's perpetual struggle against the Palestinian terror organizations, and said that the PLO in its very essence and methods constitutes a threat to state security. Thus, he concluded, allowing PLO figures themselves to speak out on the state media concerning Israel's activities in the territories is likely to harm the country's vital interests, and "with reasonable likelihood" could be expected to lead to a danger to public order or state security.

In this regard, Levin saw no difference between outright supporters of the PLO and persons who see the organization as the sole legitimate representative of the territories' residents. Anyone who adopts the latter position, he said, "is the same as someone who adopts the PLO's path and aims, and works for their realization."

Bach agreed with Levin that the ban's wording was unacceptably vague, and also accepted the doctrine that free speech may be limited if a threat to state security and public order is involved. But he applied a stricter test to the question, saying that there must be a "clear and present danger" before such restrictions are applied.



Model of the giant sculpture astride the entrance to Jerusalem. (Giora Novak)

Dispute over giant sculpture

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH
 Jerusalem Post Reporter

An 18-storey metallic spiral sculpture proposed two years ago as an entranceway arch to Jerusalem — and rejected by the city fathers — was tentatively approved last week as a new outer gateway several kilometres west of the city.

The Jerusalem District Planning Commission unanimously approved for public deposition the construction of the monumental sculpture by Giora Novak in Mevasseret Zion at a point about 200 metres from the main Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway on the Jerusalem side of the hill cresting at that point.

The plan had earlier been approved by the Match Yehuda Regional Council.

According to planning sources, Novak has also proposed that the highway be diverted so that traffic passes directly under the sculpture at a point where the view of Jerusalem suddenly unfolds before the traveller.

Commission chairman Rafi Levi said Friday that this aspect of the proposal was not discussed at last week's meeting.

The cost of the structure, estimated at several million dollars, would be met by contributions, principally from abroad, according to Novak.

The proposal for the 55-metre high structure touched off virulent public debate when it was originally made for the entranceway to the city. Mayor Teddy Kollek, who had proposed that a model of the "gateway" be placed in the Jerusalem Theatre lobby for public comment, turned down the proposal after the heavy negative reaction.

Levi said that he had also opposed the Jerusalem siting but that he, and all other members of the commission present at last week's meeting, favoured the Mevasseret site. "It's a work of art and it's in public, open space," he said. "It doesn't harm anybody."

Born in Nahlat, Novak has been living in the U.S. for the past 20 years and has devoted himself entirely in the past few years to the gateway project.

The structure would be covered with a golden ceramic coating made of a special blend of metal powders which Novak says will endure for centuries.

Sarah Doron for cabinet

SARAH HONIG
 Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Likud Knesset faction head Sarah Doron was elected by the Liberal Party central committee to be the party's nominee for its sixth cabinet member.

If the Knesset approves her appointment as minister-without-portfolio — despite Aguda Yisrael's threats to withhold support from her — she will become the third woman cabinet member in Israel's history. The others were Golda Meir and — for a brief period — Shulamit Aloni.

Aguda has served warning on the Liberals that it will not support a Doron co-option to the cabinet when it is brought up for Knesset ratification. Aguda is upset that Doron opposed its Law of Return amendment and was instrumental in foiling other Aguda and National Religious Party legislative initiatives. If Aguda remains firm, this could lead to a serious clash inside the coalition.

Doron herself told *The Jerusalem Post* that she has heard from some Aguda MKs that there is no faction decision to oppose her. She is confident of winning Knesset approval.

"Doron received 110 votes in the Liberal faction elections. Next was Deputy Agriculture Minister Pessah Grupper, with 89."



NEWS REPORT

Ben-Gal spurns attache job, decides to resign from IDF

By HIRSH GOODMAN
 Post Defence Correspondent

Aluf Avigdor Ben-Gal, the former head of the Northern Command, who was passed over as chief of staff to succeed Rafael Eitan, has decided to leave the Israel Defence Forces.

He made his decision last week, when it became clear that he would not be offered a central position in the IDF hierarchy. At a meeting between Ben-Gal and Chief of Staff-designate Aluf Moshe Levi, the latter reportedly offered Ben-Gal an attache position with an embassy in a major capital, but Ben-Gal apparently viewed this as inconsistent with his status.

Ben-Gal has formally notified Levi of his decision to leave, and has initiated contacts with corporations and businesses that have indicated that they would employ him.

After Levi's appointment, Defence Minister Moshe Arens told Ben-Gal that he hoped he would not leave the IDF, and that he still saw him as a future candidate for chief of staff. It was clear, however, that despite the cordial relations between the two men, Levi would prefer that Ben-Gal not be given a position where tension could develop between them.

Several key senior officers, upset by Ben-Gal's decision, are trying to find a middle ground. Ben-Gal is an extremely popular commander and is considered one of Israel's leading tacticians. He has unequalled battle experience in the command of large formations, and though several aspects of his command of the eastern front during the war in Lebanon have been questioned, he is considered to have served outstandingly throughout his career.

The supporters feel that the IDF should not lose a relatively young general (Ben-Gal is 47) whose experience they consider invaluable.

The future of former OC Southern Command Aluf Dan Shumron, the other contender for chief of staff, has not been decided. He has met with both Levi and Arens, but no decision has been taken.



Aluf Avigdor Ben-Gal (Uzi Keren)

THE WEATHER

Sunny spring weather made a welcome debut at the end of last week, following the frequent rains of the last month. There were hopes, with the approach of the Passover holidays, that the clear, warm days would hold.

	Thursday's Low-High	Friday's High
Jerusalem	12-18	18
Nahariya	4-14	21
Salad	12-17	19
Haifa Port	8-20	23
Libias	9-17	18
Nazareth	11-19	21
Tel Aviv	11-26	28

Hebrew press comment

Ha'aretz (Independent) says that the election of Chaim Herzog to the presidency is an achievement for the Labour Alignment. "But more than that, it testifies to the weakening of the coalition."

Davar (Histadrut labour federation) also says that the election of Herzog represents a political defeat for the coalition generally and for Prime Minister Menachem Begin specifically.

Hatzofeh (National Religious Party) says that Herzog in his many years of public service has demonstrated "outstanding ability and talent" and has not been known as a partisan figure even though he comes to the presidency from a political post.

Ma'ariv (Independent) and Yediot Ahronot (Independent), the large afternoon dailies, both state that the coalition has suffered a major moral defeat, and that its inability to count on all of its members weakens it.

Yediot Ahronot writes that one of the major problems facing the government today is how to back off from its earlier demands in the negotiations with Lebanon. The paper explains: "We do not have to accept the new American ideas as they are — even if they have already been accepted by the Lebanese. We may — and must — insist on a number of points, including the status of Major Sa'ad Haddad's force."

"But it is clear that our demand for an Israeli military presence in South Lebanon for a number of years is unacceptable and must be abandoned. For the moment, we must be satisfied with a lower level of bilateral relations than we had expected."

Hectic days on the courts

By JACK LEON

TEL AVIV. — The busiest spring season by far in the history of Israeli tennis is under way following the start of the Israel Tennis Association's traditional Pessah National Junior Championships at four venues in the Tel Aviv area. Within the next few weeks, this country will host no less than four big international events involving dozens of players from abroad, in addition to the annual Pessah tournaments for adults as well as juniors.

Nearly 700 boys and girls are competing in the youth meet.

Apart from the 1526,000 offered in prize money by the sponsors, the Discount Bank, to the winners, runners-up and semi-finalists in boys' and girls' under-18 and 16 singles events, corresponding players in three younger age categories will be rewarded with trips to France to play in tournaments.

The climax of the spring season comes with the May 6-7 friendly international between Israel and the U.S., with the guests being represented at the Davis Cup-style encounter by Mel Purcell and Chip Hooper, two of the most exciting young Americans on the pro circuit. Israel's team in the five-match series at the Ramat Hasharon tennis Centre's "Canada Stadium" will be Shlomo Gluckstein and Shahar Perks.

The annual Pessah International Championships for adults starts at Ramat Hasharon on March 29, with the entries including 15 players from West Germany and Swedish star Per-Ola Lindqvist, 19, winner of the International Tennis Federation's first Junior World Ranking Circuit tournament here in 1981.

Lindqvist will remain for the Tennis Association's \$25,000 Duhek Cup ATP association of Tennis Professionals tournament being held at the Ashkelon Tennis Centre from April 11 to 16.

The hectic action moves to Jerusalem on April 20 for the opening of this year's junior world ranking circuit's two-tournament series in Israel, which is again being organized for the International Federation by the ITA.

'World Games'

TEL AVIV. — In what leaders of the Hapoel sports organization last week described as "the greatest sporting event yet to be staged in Israel" some 3500 athletes, 1,500 from overseas, will contest 25 sports in the 12th Hapoel Games, from May 1 to 7.

SOCER. — Because of the Passover holiday, this issue has been produced earlier than usual and for that reason the results of the weekend soccer games do not appear.

Rates of exchange

March 23, 1983	IS
U.S. dollar	1.7155
British Sterling	2.7267
German mark	16.2602
French franc	4.2431
Dutch guilder	11.1857
Swiss franc	18.0431
Swedish krona	4.2051
Norwegian krone	4.3125
Danish krone	2.5591
Japanese yen	167.1
Canadian dollar	11.9661
Australian dollar	14.0527
South African rand	16.0451
Belgian franc (10)	8.2040
Austrian schilling (10)	23.0297
Italian lire (1,000)	2.7164
Japanese yen (100)	16.4678

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'Who's a Jew' bills defeatedBy ARYEH RUBINSTEIN
Post Knesset Reporter

The "Who's a Jew" amendments of Agudat Yisrael and Haim Druckman (National Religious Party) failed on their preliminary reading in the Knesset last week.

The Knesset voted 58-50 against the bills which declared that only converts whose conversion had been "according to Halacha" would be recognized as Jews under the Law of Return.

Coalition discipline was not imposed, and attention during the vote focused on the Liberals. They split three ways, five voting for the bills, six voting against, and two not voting.

Although the bills had no chance of passing this time, Hachohen said, the sponsors had presented them, thus injuring their own cause.

Avraham Shapira, who presented the Aguda bill, said it was possible to get a Reform conversion in the U.S. by telephone, for \$5,000.

Druckman denied that the amendment was aimed against Jews of any stream, or that it would divide the nation. On the contrary, its object was to unite the nation. "With a full heart," he urged Reform and Conservative Jews in the Diaspora to "come home" to Israel.

Interior Minister Yosef Burg said that conversion according to Halacha has at least one advantage: "everybody knows what it is."

He quoted Spinoza as saying that if the Jews keep up the rite of circumcision they would survive as a people and might succeed in returning to their land.

Begin gets credit for aid to Falashas

The Public Council for Ethiopian Jewry, at its inaugural meeting at the Knesset last week, heard Minister-without-Portfolio Mordechai Ben-Porat pay tribute to Premier Menachem Begin's efforts on behalf of the Falashas.

The meeting was also addressed by Knesset Speaker Menachem Savidor, MK Goula Cohen and MK Dror Zeigerman, who recently

returned from a visit to Ethiopia.

The Public Council for Ethiopian Jewry, initiated by the Knesset Immigration and Absorption Committee, is headed by Beersheba Mayor Eliyahu Nawi. He said the organization will enlist public opinion all over the world for the Falashas' immigration cause. The council has been given space in the Tel Aviv offices of B'nai B'rith and will meet twice a year, he said.

Once a 'yekke...'By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

They all arrived several minutes early, with each man wearing a jacket and tie, and they listened to a piece by Beethoven, three poems and four speeches with nary a whisper.

The 200 guests at Beit Hanassi last week proved that even after 50 years in Israel, emigrants from Germany still — happily — behave like yekkes — the term applied to them by the Jewish Community in Palestine and which connotes orderliness. All members of the Association of Olim from Central Europe, the guests came to mark the jubilee year of allyn from Germany.

"May I use the word yekke as an expression of affection?" President Yitzhak Navon asked. The guests nodded their approval, showing that they themselves no longer regard the term as derogatory.

The president recalled his own reaction, as a young native-born Sephardi Jerusalemite, to the influx of emigrants from Germany in the 1930s. "They seemed strange looking. And when we wanted to buy bread from the yekke groceryman, one couldn't squeeze a loaf. *Nein!* He even wrapped it in paper," said Navon. "And



President Yitzhak Navon meets his former high-school teacher, Prof. Ernst Akiva Simon. (Zoom 7)

they were so exact. Suddenly, they brought a new concept to the Middle East — that time is of value. Instead of going to a single, omniscient doctor, they had specialists for every part of the body. And — amazing — they said what they were thinking."

Navon praised German-Jewish emigrants — 55,000 came, plus 20,000 from Austria and Czechoslovakia — for injecting "culture, in the deep sense of the word, into our lives."

The only weakness in the yekke allyn, the president continued, was that "you were too few," and that the large majority of German Jews, feeling "at home" in their native country, were wiped out in the Holocaust.

Ze'ev Oestreicher, association chairman, listed the great contributions of German Jews to all fields in Israeli life.

But yekke was not always regarded in a positive light, said Avraham Gerling. "There was a psychological problem. We were sometimes deeply wounded by the lack of understanding by the Yishuv (pre-State Jewish community), and by the contrast between our idealistic expectations and the realities of the country." But today, he added, the term yekke is recognized with respect.

The participants included Supreme Court Justice Gavriel Buch, former justices Haim Cohn, Alfred Witkon and Moshe Landau, former state comptroller Yitzhak Nebenzahl, and Prof. Ernst (Akiva) Simon (who was Navon's teacher in high school). Poet Yehuda Amichai, who was brought here from Germany by his parents in 1935, when he was 11, recited a few of his poems.

Chairman-elect named for Keren Hayesod

Mendel Kaplan of Johannesburg was unanimously named chairman-elect of the world board of trustees of the United Israel Appeal-Keren Hayesod at its recent meeting in Jerusalem.

Kaplan, who will assume office in June, will succeed Phil Granovsky of Toronto, who has served in the post since the establishment of the board in 1978.

The UJA-Keren Hayesod board is composed of heads of Keren Hayesod campaigns throughout the world, and Israeli representatives, primarily members of the WZO Executive.

**'Only one objected to dawn raid'**

Former Prisoner of Zion Sylvia Zalmanson alleges that the police "nearly broke down the door" of her Rishon Lezion apartment at 2 a.m. on a Friday in order to collect a 15300 parking fine.

Zalmanson said the raid, in which the policemen tried to break down her door, reminded her of Stalin's police. One of the policemen was in civilian dress, and the other wore a coat over his uniform. Zalmanson said she thought they were robbers.

Assistant Commander Shimon Savir of the Tel Aviv Police told *The Jerusalem Post* that he resented the comparison with the Soviet police. Zalmanson, 38, who came to Israel in 1974, spent four years in a Soviet jail for participating in the 1970 Leningrad plot to hijack an aircraft to Israel.

Police said that Zalmanson was the only person in 100 such cases to make a complaint.

"All (other) citizens acted impeccably except Mrs. Zalmanson," Nitzav-Mishne Shimon Savir, head of the Shefela police district, said. Savir said Zalmanson had been served with three notices to pay, and police went to her apartment had a warrant for her arrest. They were authorized to detain her until the fine is paid and "under such circumstances they may come at 3 a.m.," a police spokesman said. In 90 per cent of the cases, people are home at that hour, he explained.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin joins in singing *Hatikva* at a recent Christian rally inside the Knesset grounds on behalf of Soviet Jewry. Over 300 persons attended the rally sponsored by the International Christian Embassy in Jerusalem. (Drucker)**Evolution theory is found wanting at local 'trial'**By CHARLES HOFFMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Evolution was tried in Jerusalem last week and found guilty of failing to meet the standards of a scientific theory by the First Congress on Inquiries into the Origin of Life and Evolution. The congress was organized by a group of Orthodox scientists from Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, and sponsored by the Ministry of Education. It was held on the Mt. Scopus campus of the Hebrew University, which only let space for the gathering.

Prof. Ephraim Urbach, whose field is Jewish thought, denied the congress was "anti-scientific." He told participants that orthodox scientists must use scientific concepts and methods in dealing with scientific questions.

Most speakers did indeed use scientific arguments to dismiss the theory of evolution as "speculation," "secular dogma," or "myth." Only a few defended the theory on scientific grounds.

But most, after rejecting the theory of evolution on scientific grounds, failed to offer an alternative theory to account for the origin and development of life. Instead they reaffirmed their belief in divine creation.

Speakers adopting this approach included Prof. Yirmiyahu Branover, Moshe Trop, and Alvin Radkowsky of BGU; Dr. Lee Spetner, an engineer and statistician; and Dr. Duane Gish, an organic chemist and one of the most vocal advocates of creationism in the U.S.

Branover, one of the conference organizers, said the creationist attempt to give a scientific basis to creation was impossible and unnecessary.

Prof. Cyril Domb, of Bar-Ilan University, said the Genesis account could not be presented as an alternative, scientific theory, since its acceptance is based on faith and thus above science.

The aims of the conference were to explain that it is incorrect to present the theory of evolution as unchallengeable, and to show that much of it has been refuted.

The Education Ministry circularized all schools urging teachers, principals and supervisors to attend. Only a handful did.

Domb said that the theory of evolution had done "enormous moral damage to western society over the last 150 years," by encouraging the belief in man's animal nature and a meaningless universe. He said that evolution should be taught as a tentative theory which could eventually be superseded.

Arguments against Darwin's theory included the following:

- The absence of transitional forms of life linking various species disproves Darwin's contention that the species evolved through gradual mutations.
- Experiments "reconstructing" the accidental emergence of life bil-

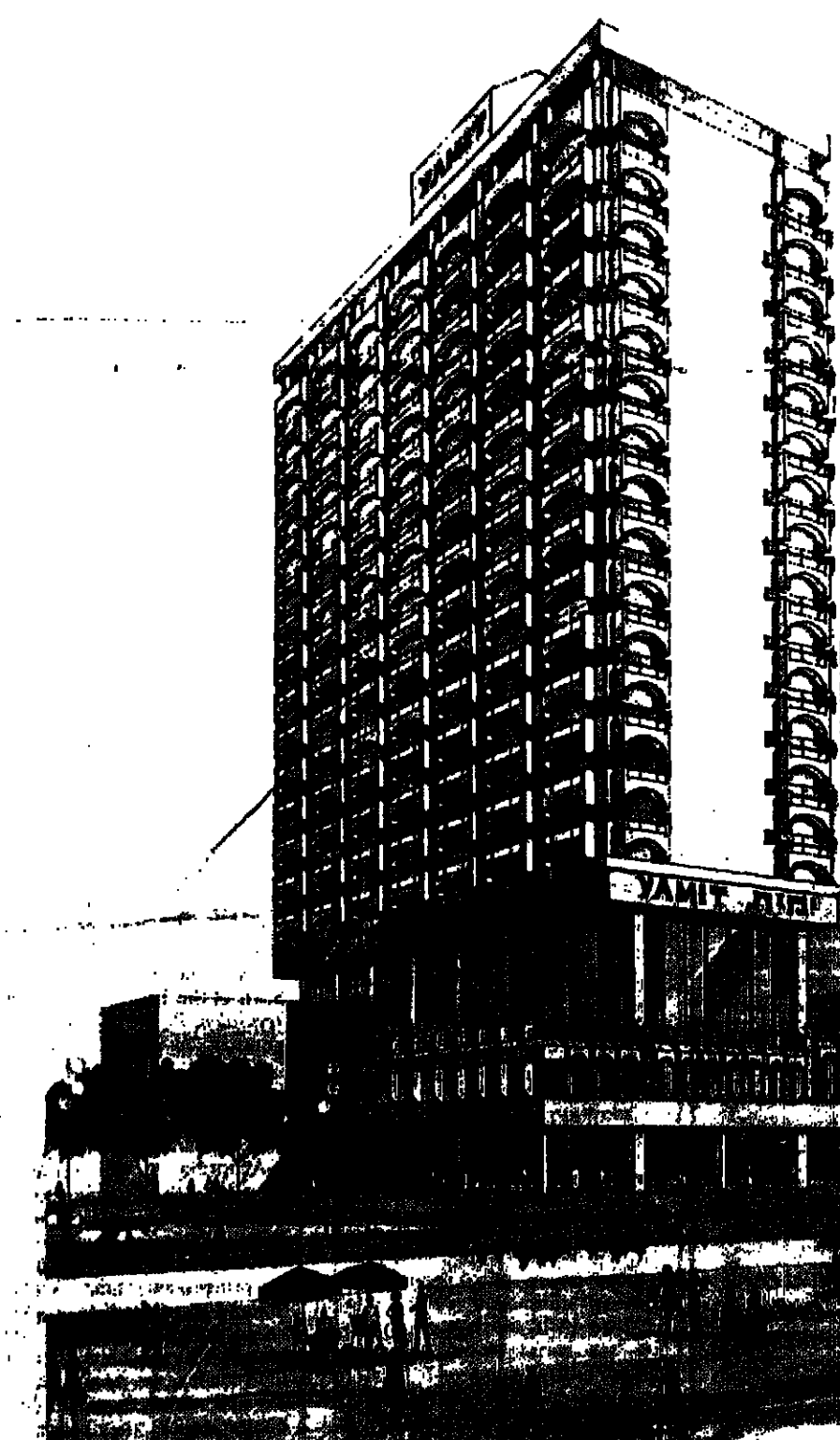
lions of years ago misled by assuming conditions in the earth's atmosphere that cannot be shown to have existed.

- Probability theory shows that complex forms of life could not have evolved during the time scientists ascribe to the age of the earth. The odds would be practically nil for the chemical building blocks of life to have combined by chance and survived in the "primeval soup."

Several Hebrew University scientists who accept evolution complained that it was impossible to conduct an authentic scientific debate at a conference where speakers made unsubstantiated factual and statistical assertions that could not be systematically disputed.

Some of these scientists said the Orthodox speakers had attacked evolution with scientific arguments, while refusing to subject their own beliefs to rational criticism.

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Arabs charge discrimination over new aid to large families

The Knesset last week approved a State Budget of 151.124 billion (\$29b.) for fiscal 1983.

The sum is 151 billion more than that proposed by Finance Minister Yoram Aridor two months ago. The extra sum is meant for the higher children's allowances decided on by the cabinet last week and is to be raised by the newly imposed \$50 travel tax (which also passed its final reading).

Knesset Finance Committee chairman Shlomo Lorincz announced that a permanent subcommittee will oversee the implementation of the budget throughout the year, adjusting it periodically to bring it in line with changed conditions.

Lorincz was heckled repeatedly

by opposition speakers, who attacked the proposed regulations to grant higher children's allowances to families of soldiers (thus barring them from most Arab families), although families of yeshiva students who do not do military service will receive the higher allowances.

Lorincz in turn denounced the opposition speakers' use of the term "racist" in this connection, saying it showed a distorted sense of proportion for them to spend more time talking about "prutot" (pennies) for yeshiva students than about the rest of the trillion-shekel budget.

Two Arab Alignment Knesset Members last week petitioned the High Court of Justice for an order forbidding Knesset approval of clauses in the Budget Law relating

Travel tax will pay for controversial step

to the increased child allowances, saying they discriminate against Israeli Arabs, as Arab males usually do not serve in the IDF. (Among the exceptions are Druse, Beduin and Circassians.)

Supreme Court Justice Moshe Beisky decided to refer the petition to a bench of three justices, and has ordered that a representative of the attorney-general appear at the hearing.

He declined to issue an injunction to prevent the Knesset vote.

The petition was submitted by lawyer Tzili Reshef on behalf of

MKS Mohammed Wattad (Mapam), a father of seven, and Hamad Halaili (Labour), a father of 10.

The petitioners asked the court to excise from the Budget Law 1983/84 the clauses increasing child allowances for families with four or more children in which the father has served or is serving in the IDF and the clauses equalizing the child-allowance rights of yeshiva students who do not serve in the IDF with those of honourably discharged soldiers.

The petitioners argue that on March 22, 1983 the government representatives proposed to the Knesset Finance Committee to increase the allowances paid by the National Insurance Institute in ac-

cordance with the Demobilized Soldiers Law and the regulations laid down by the Labour and Social Affairs Minister.

The petitioners state that the proposal came after Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir told the cabinet ministers that there was no possibility of legislating a law at the same time increasing allowances for demobilized Jews and for Jews who do not serve in the IDF while not giving the same allowances to non-Jews.

The government representative, according to the petitioners, told the Knesset committee that the allowances to yeshiva students would be equalized with those paid to demobilized soldiers by a government decision permitting payments from the Treasury budget to yeshiva students "whose sole occupation is study."

Wattad and Halaili argue that this combination of increased allowances for demobilized Jews and Jews who do not serve in the IDF discriminates against them. Being fathers of large families, they, too, should receive the enlarged child allowances "and should not be discriminated against because of their religious or national affiliation," say the two MKs.

Several Liberal MKs denounced the reintroduction of a travel tax, which they maintained is against their party's principles.

The proposed travel tax will hurt poorer families wishing to go abroad for a short, cheap holiday. Eli Blau, chairman of the Travel Agents Association said. He noted that Israel is the only Western state to impose such a tax.

As an observant Jew, he said, he is in favour of Torah institutions. But he failed to see the connection between foreign travel and support of such institutions. The Operation Peace for Galilee tax at least had some moral weight, he said; this has none.

Zehavi, the large-families organization, expressed satisfaction with the implementation of the large-families law, which it has been fighting for over 10 years. It regretted, however, that it was linked to the proposed travel tax, which it sees as a "violation of individual freedom" and as a source of unnecessary resentment.

(Compiled from reports by Aryeh Rubin, Avi Temkin and Itim news agency).

New Arab terror threat to UK Jews

Jerusalem Post Correspondent LONDON. — The Jewish community is taking "very seriously" a press report last week that four "fanatical Arab terrorists" have slipped into London "with a mission to kill leading Israelis."

According to the report in the mass circulation Sun newspaper, the terrorists are members of the Abu Nidal group, three of whom were recently sent to prison for attempting to assassinate Ambassador Shlomo Argov last June.

The four new arrivals, it is suggested, may be here to try to free their colleagues as well as to seek out new targets from a hit list of 100 names which they have brought with them.

A senior member of the Jewish community involved with communal security said that he is taking the report very seriously.

Israeli war data to U.S.

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Post Defence Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Israel will give U.S. defence experts access to top secret information it has gleaned from the war in Lebanon, even though the two governments have failed to conclude a new agreement to provide for such an exchange.

The first American team from the U.S. Air Force is due here in early April, in the first step of a "fruitful programme of information exchange," Defence Minister Moshe Arens told reporters here last week. In Washington U.S. officials welcomed Israel's decision.

Israel began collecting and assessing the data shortly after the war. Last November Andrew Marshall, a Department of Defence official, came here and drafted an agreement with then-defence minister Ariel Sharon and Benzion Naveh, head of the Defence Ministry's research and development division.

However, U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger refused to endorse it and presented his own, shorter version which Israel did not accept.

Israeli defence sources said the talks broke down because of Israel's insistence that the information not be passed on to other countries without its consent including NATO. The U.S. did not accept this.

"Since so much time has gone by and since a number of misunderstandings have occurred as to Israel's willingness to share information with the U.S. — we have decided to initiate the process of

sharing this information with the U.S. based on previous agreements that are in force, and not to wait for the signature on the new agreement," said Arens.

(The agreements he referred to governed information sharing following the Six Day and Yom Kippur Wars.)

Israel will present its raw material for teams to study, simulate battle conditions and modify weapons systems on the basis of the findings.

The basic components of the "very large mass of information" to be analyzed are: the destruction by the Israel Air Force of Soviet-built ground-to-air missiles, the shooting down of scores of modern Soviet-built aircraft and the knocking out of Soviet-built T-72 tanks, which appeared in battle for the first time.

"This is not just a matter of how (the IDF's) various weapons systems performed," Arens said. "The technology was not only American. There was a lot of Israeli technology involved. It is also a question of tactics that were used," he said.

Correspondent Wolf Blitzer adds from Washington.

Arens, one U.S. official said, was clearly anxious to remove this issue from the list of problems straining the American-Israeli relationship.

The U.S. official noted that Israel, over the past six months, had already passed along a considerable amount of the war-related information — even without any formal agreement. He said the Pentagon, especially the air force, is anxious to obtain the rest.

Sharon opposes Arens' line

Jerusalem Post Staff
Former defence minister Ariel Sharon has expressed firm objections to the policies and viewpoints of his successor Moshe Arens on several aspects of the negotiations in Lebanon and other defence issues.

Reliable sources in Jerusalem said that in a recent cabinet meeting and at other ministerial consultations, Sharon angrily and sharply objected to Arens' agreement to allow a U.S. Air Force mission to come to Israel and receive information on the military lessons of the Lebanon war.

In consultations prior to the meeting with U.S. special envoy Philip Habib last week, Sharon firmly opposed more Israeli concessions. Sharon, it is learned, feels Israel should not abandon his demands for a physical Israeli presence in Southern Lebanon to supervise the security arrangements.

He also opposes an Israeli change in position on the scope of, and ele-

ments to be included in, the normalization arrangements with Lebanon.

The sources say that in Sharon's opinion no information on the war and its lessons should be surrendered to the U.S., since there is no signed agreement on such an exchange.

Discussing the clash between Sharon and Arens, political sources in Jerusalem said that Sharon adamantly objects to Arens' line in the talks with Lebanon. Arens, Prime Minister Menachem Begin, and other cabinet ministers supported more flexibility over the latest U.S. proposals, as discussed between Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Secretary of State George Shultz in Washington and at Habib's meeting with the ministerial steering committee on the Lebanese talks.

Political observers in Jerusalem estimated that the tensions between Sharon and Arens would intensify and that Sharon would continue to oppose his successor's positions.

House arrest for Temple Mount suspects

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The 29 Jews arrested in mid-March for allegedly plotting to break into the Temple Mount via an underground passage were placed under house arrest last week by the Jerusalem District Court, with each detainee posting a \$5,000 bond.

Official police spokesmen told the Jerusalem Post that guards could not be posted at the front door of each of the detainees, who were given permission by the court to leave their homes only for Sab-

bath and holiday synagogue services.

However, senior police sources are confident that, as in the past, "they have their ways" to see that the house arrest terms are not violated. The house arrests for the Temple Mount suspects last until the end of court proceedings against them.

Concern continues in police and security service circles that there may be a renewed effort to create a Jewish foothold on the Temple Mount before or during Pesach.

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A president of many parts

By DAVID LANDAU

EVEN *Jerusalem Post* readers who know president-elect Chaim Herzog well would probably find something they didn't know about him in the copious *curriculum vitae* he drew up when the presidential nomination was sprung on him out of the blue. Hebron Yeshiva, Cambridge and Sandhurst aren't bad for starters. But readers are probably not aware that he was Irish Maccabi boxing champion, that he sues houts and flies planes, that he fought at Amhem, was among the first Allied troops to cross the Rhine, was wounded at Bremen, and was among the captors of SS Commander Heinrich Himmler. He was also Field-Marshal Montgomery's personal representative to the first Jewish DP conference in Bergen-Belsen (the qualifications required were ranking intelligence officer and fluency in Yiddish; Lt.-Col. Herzog freed scant competition).

Back in Palestine before the War of Independence, he was involved in planning the "Burmah Road," and later became, at the age of 30, Chief of Military Intelligence (1948-50). It was in that post — he was to return to it for a further three years in the late '50s — that he figured among the founding generation of the IDF, moulding the Intelligence Branch and leaving a permanent imprint on it.

ALUF (res.) Herzog left the army in 1962, and was immediately snapped up by Sir Isaac Wolfson to head his GUS Industries. Since then Herzog has been a prominent figure on the boards of banks and industrial enterprises. He is also a senior partner in a leading Tel Aviv commercial law firm, the president of World ORT, the president of ORT in Israel, the founder of Variety in Israel, a governor of several universities — and a "Sir," that is a Knight Commander of the British Empire (KBE), an honour rarely bestowed on non-British citizens.

On top of all that he is an active MK with a record of diligent attendance and his own "parliamentary bureau" for the Sharon area (he lives in Herzliya Pituah). "People of all political persuasions in the area have come to see me as their representative," he says. "They come to the bureau, they phone me at home, they come to the door. And frankly — I like it."

"The presidency is a family affair," Herzog continues. His wife Aura (nee Ambache, Suzy Eban's sister) is, he says proudly, "an important personage in her own right, without any relation to me." She is the longtime head of the Council for a Beautiful Israel. Before that, she founded and ran the Public Council for Arts and Culture in the Education Ministry. And she takes credit for creating the Bible Quiz while working under Meir Weizgal to arrange Israel's 10th anniversary celebrations. She, too, did her share of soldiering, and was wounded in the 1948 war.

AS PRESIDENT he would seek to bridge the gaps, he says. He sees himself as suited to do so because he and his family do in practice beside the three chisms that divide the nation: religious-secular, Sephardi-Ashkenazi, and Israeli-Diaspora.

In terms of religion, Herzog has impeccable antecedents: son of the late chief rabbi of Israel, Isaac

Halevi Herzog, grandson (on his mother's side) of a chief dayan in England, Rabbi Shmuel Hillman. Chaim himself is well-versed in Jewish studies; he and Aura maintain a traditional home; and he is a pillar of the Orthodox community in Herzliya Pituah.

"Like my father, I would try to bridge the gap by demonstrating the pleasant aspects of tradition."

"Ethnic" bridge-building comes naturally to the Herzogs; their own family is a thorough jumble of Sephardi and Ashkenazi. Aura's parents, the Ambaches of Egypt, were of "mixed" lineage. And the younger generation of both families have "intermarried" so extensively, says Herzog, listing cousins and second-cousins in Israel and all over the world, that "I think I have more Sephardi relatives than Ashkenazi."



His most famous Sephardi relative is Swiss Jewish tycoon Nessim Gaon, whose daughter is married to Herzog's oldest son Yoel.

Speaking before the election, Herzog said it made him sick to read the press speculation that this marital tie would help swing Tami behind him in the presidential ballot. Gaon being Tami's leading patron. "I'm running in my own right," he asserted, "not on any richness, linear or lateral."

His worldwide family and business connections and extensive travels as soldier and diplomat have given him a thorough grasp of the Israel-Diaspora relationship. His three years at the UN (1975-8) made him face and voice familiar to millions of American Jews, he says. "The president's house would be an international Jewish focus."

It would also be accessible to Israelis of every sort, and the base for Herzog's frequent sallies into every area of the country. "Navon told me recently that after five years as president there is no one who knows Israel, every nook and cranny of it, every *shekhuna*, better than he. He said he thought that, as president, he would have plenty of free time; in fact, he has hardly any. Being a symbol is a full-time job."

Herzog speaks of the challenge with relish. He would follow in Navon's footsteps. He, too, is one of those people who like people.

ALEXANDER ZVIELI fits out the picture of the president-elect:

Chaim Herzog was born in Belfast, Northern Ireland, on September 17, 1918. He was the elder son of Yitzhak Herzog, who was to become Ashkenazi chief rabbi in this country. Chaim Herzog came here in 1935 and studied at the Hebron Yeshiva in Jerusalem for two years. He also joined the Hagana.

Herzog returned to Britain, graduated from Cambridge and obtained his LL.D. from the University of London. In 1939 he enlisted in the British Army and graduated from the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst.

During World War II Herzog served in the infantry and armoured corps, participating in the landing at Normandy.

He was among the first Allied soldiers to cross the Rhine and was wounded at Bremen. By the end of the war he was serving as one of the heads of British Intelligence in northern Germany with the rank of major. He was also the personal representative of Field Marshal Montgomery to the first Jewish displaced persons conference held at Bergen-Belsen.

Herzog was discharged from the British Army in 1947. He soon rejoined the Hagana and became head of the Jewish Agency's security department. Upon formation of the Israel Defence Forces, he headed the intelligence department of the General Staff Branch.

In 1950 Herzog was admitted to the bar, and in the same year he was appointed military attache at the Israeli Embassy in Washington, where he served for four years.

From 1954 to 1957 he was commander of the Jerusalem District and from 1957 to 1959 was OC Southern Command. From 1959 until his army retirement three years later he was head of the intelligence branch at the General Staff.

In 1962 Herzog opened his own law firm and represented Sir Isaac Wolfson and his GUS (Great Universal Stores) industries in Israel.

On the eve of the 1967 war he became the leading military commentator for the Broadcasting Authority.

His informative and reassuring broadcasts calmed the public during the difficult weeks that preceded the war.

FOLLOWING the victory Herzog became the first military commander of the West Bank, but returned to civilian life soon afterwards.

During the 1973 Yom Kippur War Herzog was reinstated as Israel's top military commentator. He again became one of the most listened-to men in the country. Herzog wrote a book on the war, called *The War of Attrition*. In it he strongly criticized then-defence minister Moshe Dayan for having delayed full mobilization.

In January, 1975, then-foreign minister Yigal Allon asked Herzog to become Israel's ambassador to the UN. The appointment was welcomed at home and abroad. During his tenure, Herzog constantly rapped what he called the organization's "paranoic obsession" with Israel. His devastating logic and ferocious wit won him many unexpected admirers.

HERZOG stayed on at the UN after the change of government in 1977, but resigned in January 1978 to return to his law practice. He then joined the board of directors of the Discount Bank. But he devoted much of his time to other pursuits. In 1979, he published, together with Mordechai Githon, *Battles of the Bible*. He also joined the top leadership of the Labour Party.

Herzog will strive for tolerance

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Plodding that he would try to create an atmosphere of tolerance, bridge the country's divisions and close the gap between Israel and the Diaspora, president-elect MK Chaim Herzog last week told his Alignment colleagues:

"I am no longer a representative of a faction, but of the whole nation."

Herzog said after his upset victory that the election did not reflect a changed balance between the coalition and opposition. Nor, he stressed, should it be regarded as a repudiation of Prime Minister Menachem Begin, who personally selected the coalition candidate, Supreme Court Justice Menachem Elon.

The founders of the state specifically determined that the vote for president be held by secret ballot, Herzog said, to ensure that the choice be free of political considerations.

He told reporters that he would pattern his presidency on that of his predecessor, President Yitzhak Navon. "who is an excellent model." Like Navon, Herzog intends to be an active president, to visit citizens around the country and to forge ties with the Arab sector.

Herzog said that his late father, chief rabbi Yitzhak Herzog, brought a teacher of Arabic into their home, and that he learned the language. "Although my Arabic is not as fine as Yitzhak Navon's, I concur with his feelings about Arab Israelis."

Asked how he felt after the vote, Herzog said: "As if I'd had a baby." He declined to make further predictions about his presidency, saying that he has six more weeks before taking office and would have to "rest — and learn the job — before making comments. 'I'll try to be worthy of the post,' he said."

He added that he is aware of the "serious limitations" on expression of a president's own views, but that like Navon, he would find a way to live with this. He expressed the hope that he would be accepted by a majority of the nation.

Asked about his health (he had a heart attack last year), Herzog said

that "until you mentioned it, I had forgotten about it." But he added more seriously that he works a 15-hour day, and that he intends to work just as hard as president.

He related that Begin congratulated him after the vote and suggested that they begin an era of co-operation. As for his present status, Herzog said he was automatically "dismissed" from the Knesset and that he had "better be careful" in his answers, because he no longer enjoys Knesset immunity. The Alignment replacement for Herzog will be Nahman Raz, a former secretary of the United Kibbutz Movement.

Asked about a recent poll showing that a significant minority of the public would do away with the parties and prefer a strong and not necessarily democratically elected leader, Herzog called his election proof of the democratic strength of Israel. But the survey should nevertheless ring a bell in the Knesset, he said, for it disclosed a "dangerous and worrisome" trend.

Navon called Herzog soon after the vote to offer his "warmest congratulations." He counselled the president-elect to "be faithful to himself, and at the same time to be alert to all the wide and great variety of Israel's citizenry. May his heart be open and his ears keen."

Navon also telephoned Elon and said that he was a worthy candidate and that if elected, he would have made the country proud. Navon expressed the hope that the Supreme Court justice and his wife "will continue to serve the nation in their important posts."

Aura Herzog said that she was surprised and "in the clouds." She had been prepared for the eventuality that her husband would lose, but will back him up now that he has been elected.

The Herzogs hope to preserve as much of their family and private life as possible. Two sons and a daughter — Michael (a major in the regular army, 30), Yitzhak (a law student, 22) and Roni, 19, a soldier — were present in the Knesset. Their eldest son Yoel, 33, a businessman now in Geneva and married to the daughter of Nessim Gaon — telephoned immediately, and plans to return in May.

Aura Herzog, head of the Council for a Beautiful Israel, hopes to continue as a patron of the organization. She will busy herself as "woman of the house" in Beit Hanassi, seeing to it that her husband has quiet respites from his work and pursuing interests close to her heart.

Elon returning to Court

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

There is an undercurrent of regret and disquiet in senior legal circles over Supreme Court Justice Menachem Elon's intention to return to the bench after his unsuccessful bid for the presidency of the State.

"I wouldn't do it," a leading jurist told *The Jerusalem Post* last week, referring to Elon's imminent return to the Supreme Court. The jurist insisted on anonymity, citing his friendship with Elon.

Elon did not resign from the Supreme Court when he agreed to become the coalition candidate for president; but he refrained from actually sitting on the bench and hearing cases for the duration of the two-week candidacy period. His decision not to resign met with criticism in legal circles.

Elon made it clear that he

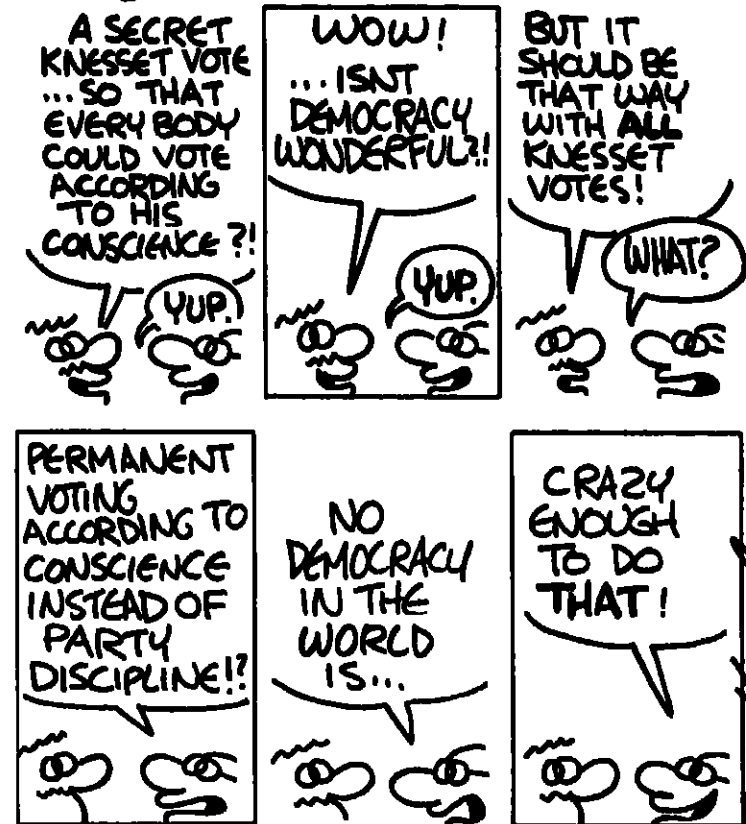
proposes to resume his regular judicial duties forthwith. He noted that his work on the court gave him a deep sense of fulfillment.

Jurists expressing discomfort over Elon's decision stress that they have no doubt about his continued ability to judge with the utmost fairness and impartiality in all cases that come before him, including cases involving government. "But it is a matter of how it looks, of justice being seen to be done," the leading jurist and friend of Elon noted.

Another jurist noted sadly that the episode had left "a little stain. It should not have happened to a justice of the Supreme Court."

Both jurists stressed, however, that the episode is not to be seen as a major or lasting blow to the prestige of the court, or to the principle of separation of powers. The law itself had nothing to say on the matter, and the feeling of discomfort was only that — a feeling.

Dry Bones



Begin's blunder

By YOSEF GOELL

ISRAEL'S presidency has never been a crucial political post, whatever political flurries may have been set off by the upset vote in the Knesset last Tuesday in which the Alignment's Chaim Herzog was chosen Israel's sixth president over Menachem Begin's choice, Menachem Elon, by 61 votes to 57.

Israel's first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, saw to that. The relegation of the president to the role of a ribbon-cutting, Bible-quizzing ceremonial functionary was an expression both of Ben-Gurion's desire to concentrate political power in his own hands, and of his personal attitude to the man he installed in that rather empty post, Chaim Weizmann.

There has been greater interest in the presidency recently, primarily because of the public's fascination with the question of whether President Yitzhak Navon will be the first incumbent to use it as a springboard to the premiership. But the presidency today is as powerless and marginally important a position as it was during Chaim Weizmann's frustrating last years.

It could, in theory, be different if politicians of both major parties

were willing to transfer some of their powers to the president, on the assumption that he would use them to foster national unity. One could imagine, for example, the president, rather than the prime minister being given the power to decide when to set up a commission of inquiry, to investigate issues of national importance.

But our political leaders are obviously not interested in giving up such powers. In the light of this fact, the argument of some politicians that most, if not all, of the functions of the presidency could be carried out by the Speaker of the Knesset seem quite persuasive.

The events surrounding the vote last week, and the fortnight or so of intense partisan politicking preceding it, uncovered some of the seamy aspects of Israeli politics: the threatened witch hunt in the coalition intended to unmask the "seven defectors"; the curious proposal by Minister of Tourism Avraham Sharir that the secret vote for the president be abolished; and the anguished cries of "traitors," "liars," and "stab in the back" from the coalition ranks.

UNDOUBTEDLY, some coalition MKs conned the coalition whips who were twisting their arms to

make them vote the party line. If there was anything ugly about this, it was not so much the moral weakness of those MKs who felt constrained to roll their eyes heavenward and promise fealty to the coalition bosses, but the unprincipled determination of the whips to twist arms and force coalition MKs to vote against the dictates of their consciences and their personal preferences in keeping with the spirit of the law and of the august occasion.

The basic question that should have been asked about the whole affair is why there was no serious attempt to find a consensus candidate for an honorable position whose entire *raison d'être* is the striving for consensus and the fostering of national unity.

The main responsibility for failing to look for such a candidate lies with Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

The frantic nature of the Likud's search for a suitable candidate was reminiscent of Begin's selection, in 1978, of Prof. Yitzhak Chavet, an even more obscure figure, for the presidency. In both instances the prime minister, who is known as a politician of enviable astuteness, showed poor judgment.

It also points to the curious dearth of men of stature in and around the Likud who are both acceptable to Mr. Begin and willing to swallow their own independence to serve as his candidate for the presidency. Elon and Chavet, both decent men, but unconvincing candidates for the presidency, deserve Begin's apology for the embarrassment he has caused them.

Although the recombinations in the coalition will probably continue until the ender, there is no reason to believe that Mr. Begin's stumble will bring down his government. At the very least, the continuing internal disarray of Labour will see to that.

In the longer run, however, last week's presidential contretemps provided further evidence that neither the coalition nor the Likud itself can be expected to outlive Begin's tenure in the Prime Minister's Office. Begin's superiority as a politician is that he has been capable of keeping the disparate, squabbling elements of his coalition together despite the obvious ideological and personal animosities which divide them.

In the absence of his leadership, these animosities, which surfaced momentarily last week, will put an end to the political force he has built and will usher in the long-awaited realignment of Israel's political map.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post's editorial staff.

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IN FROM THE COLD

In less than a decade since it was founded, Gush Emunim has become a powerful, professional and well-financed organization with support 'in many parties.' The Post's DANIEL GAVRON reports.

"TODAY SETTLEMENT in Judea and Samaria is being dealt with officially *harach b'ushem*, and we are starting to work in the field of aliya," said Rabbi Moshe Levinger with visible satisfaction. Although Gush Emunim has no formal leader, it is the 48-year-old bearded rabbi who, more than anyone else, is associated with the militant religious movement, symbolized by the knitted skull-caps of its youthful activists.

Levinger has good reason for satisfaction. This Pessah it will be just 15 years since the redoubtable rabbi led his famous sit-in at Hebron's Park Hotel, although Gush Emunim was only established as a movement six years later. The hotel-squatting led eventually to the establishment of Kiryat Arba, the Jewish suburb of Hebron. Today there are some 150 settlements beyond the 1967 borders, more than half of them in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, the rest in the Jordan Rift and on the Golan.

"We always wanted settlement to be handled by the government. We are opposed to partisan efforts," remarked the man who defied the authorities in Sebastia, Hebron and Yamit. There was no trace of irony in his voice: Levinger is not a humorous man.

The public Levinger, the man who in an earlier time, rent his clothes and lay down in the street to protest against Henry Kissinger, is not in evidence in his Jerusalem office.

In private conversation he is rather shy, slurred of speech and slow to come to the point. But one senses, behind the shell, the iron determination and the certainty in the rightness of his cause which are the secret of his success. Other Gush leaders have left the scene, to return to their yeshivot or to enter politics; Levinger continues to run.

He is a man of restless energy, although he can sit tight when the situation warrants it. He sat in the Park Hotel for six months and, after he and his followers were transferred to a nearby army camp, stuck it out for a further four years until permission was granted for Kiryat Arba.

Gush Emunim was actually founded as a movement in early 1974, in the wake of the Yom Kippur War. Its first partisan settlement attempt was at Camp Horon in Samaria, the day after Yitzhak Rabin became prime minister. Sebastia, Kaddum, Kuddumim, Eilon Moreh and many others followed.

Today Levinger speaks nostalgically of "the other Shimon Peres," who as defence minister often turned a blind eye to their activities. With settlement in Samaria finally under way, Levinger led the struggle against the withdrawal from Sinai (although this was not a Gush Emunim operation as such). He bounced back from that defeat to lead Jewish settlement into the very heart of Arab Hebron.

More recently, his travels have taken him from Cape Town to Manhattan as he attempts the daunting task of stimulating aliya. His faithful spouse, Miriam, and their many children, remain behind in Hebron.

HANAN PORAT, Levinger's chief colleague, could not be more of a contrast. The 40-year-old paratrooper, who was seriously wounded in the Yom Kippur War, personifies the new-style religious Jew. Remove the knitted kippa and he could easily pass for a Peace Now activist, an illusion that swiftly vanishes once he opens his mouth. Porat's settlement activities predate even Levinger's: he was a member of the group that returned to the Etzion bloc, south of Jerusalem, shortly after the Six Day War.

If Levinger has remained something of an outsider, Porat is unquestionably a member of the new power-élite, speaking to government officials on the phone in his Knesset office with complete self-confidence. He reminds one of the young kibbutz leaders of the 1960s.

After fighting a number of campaigns together, Levinger and Porat parted company when the latter left to found the Tehiya Party; but the break was only temporary. Today Porat combines his political activities with leadership in the non-party Gush. He describes Tehiya as the parliamentary expression of the Gush Emunim way, but stresses that the Gush has support in many parties. Today, says Porat, Gush Emunim is the only movement that can galvanize aliya on the basis of Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook's "Zionism of Redemption." The Gush also remains the principal driving force behind settlement in the entire Land of Israel.

Four years ago, the Gush established its own settlement movement, Amana, which today deals with 30-plus settlements in Judea, Samaria and Gaza. The Gush are the first to admit that they now represent a minority of the settlers and that as time goes on, the proportion will be still smaller. "Gush Emunim cannot settle the Land of Israel," says Porat. "Only the people of Israel can achieve it. We are the pioneers, but not the separatists."

Amana official Shevach Stern, a younger version of Porat — he also serves in the paratroopers and fought in the Lebanon war — says it is the Gush groups organized in Amana that take on the toughest challenges in Judea and Samaria. He himself lives in Shilo, near Nablus, regarded as one of the more pioneering settlements, but he holds that the Jordan Valley is a tougher location and Amana is readying groups to beef up some Jordan Rift villages, as well as to establish new points of settlement. Where the Gush leads the way, he says, others will follow.

GUSH EMUNIM does not aspire to establish its own youth movement. Levinger has warm praise for the religious Bnei Akiva, but also for Labour-Zionist Hahonim, whose members he met in South Africa. But he maintains that something more comprehensive is needed to reach the Jewish masses in the Diaspora, and a deeper education in Jewish values is required both here and abroad.

The Gush is cooperating with other movements; within the framework of the World Zionist Organization, on "Operation



Levinger



Porat



Gavron

sent 10 emissaries abroad to Europe and the U.S. for periods of up to four months to promote "Operation 1,000." It is planning to send some permanent emissaries abroad also, initially at its own expense, although it is hoped that some of them will be able to earn their keep as teachers of Hebrew and Jewish subjects.

The movement is run by a secretariat of 13, nine of whom were elected at a special conference after the withdrawal from Sinai and another four co-opted later. Day-to-day affairs are conducted by a "team of four," comprising Levinger, Porat and the secretaries of Gush Emunim and Amana.

THE COUNCIL of Jewish Settlements in Judea, Samaria and Golan is a political roof organization, which represents the five local Jewish councils and six regional councils in the territories. Its secretary, Israel Harel, 44, a former journalist (he is on leave from *Yedioth Aharnoth*) admitted, in a conversation in his office at Ofra, near Ramallah, that he was worried about the polarization in Israeli life.

He does not believe there is a monolithic opinion in the Gush either about the Kahan Commission or about the Lebanon war. Likewise, he does not see why the members of Peace Now who live in the northern kibbutzim should not have supported the war.

As an example of Gush pluralism, he cites the different attitudes towards the Arabs of the territories. There are some, he admits, who support Meir Kahana's policy of expelling the area's Arabs, though he is sure they are a tiny minority. At the other extreme, he says, Tehiya has proposed offering the Arabs all rights and obligations. Some favour a policy similar to the one within the 1967 borders: Arabs do not have to serve in the IDF, but neither are they eligible for certain privileges. A large group, including Levinger, favours the extension of social and human rights, but not political rights. Another group, which is increasing in size, favours a functional-federal solution whereby the Arabs would have political rights in Transjordan.

Kiryat Arba lawyer Eliakim Haetzni, close to the Gush but not really of them, is a firm supporter of the functional-federal solution. He demands settlement rights in Transjordan; but the Jews there would vote in Israel and the Arabs west of the Jordan would vote in Amman.

"I am a dove," he laughs. "I am prepared to forgo Jewish sovereignty east of the river."

Porat demurs. Others, he declares, are not prepared to forfeit anything. "For the time being, Judea, Samaria and Gaza are all we can handle; but we believe that one day the Jews will have the entire land, just as the Temple will be rebuilt. If we create a real Jewish state worthy of the name, the Arabs will be glad to join us."

The strength of Gush Emunim, Porat feels, is in its positive approach, rejecting the permissive, Western-style society in favour of the Jewish family-based way of life. It is no accident, he maintains, that Levinger has 11 children and he

himself has seven. "Internal aliya" is no less important than immigration, he feels. He says that the media have not sufficiently emphasized the "joyful, positive, creative" side of Gush Emunim.

Haetzni is probably the most Arab-oriented of the settler activists. His modest apartment in Kiryat Arba is full of Arab rugs, ornaments and coffee-pots. He speaks Arabic, goes everywhere in the territories and claims many Arab friends. He is dead against the Gush policy of not employing Arab labour on its settlements, which he sees as a throwback to the "disastrous" Labour-Zionist policy.

Contact between Jews and Arabs in Kiryat Arba has been vital for improving relationships, he says, and he insists there has been a positive revolution in the attitude of the settlers towards the local population. He contemptuously dismisses recent vigilante actions as the work of "a few unrepresentative extremists." He quotes with evident satisfaction the recent interview in the afternoon paper, *Maan*, in which a Hebron Arab expressed confidence that the shooting of his four-year-old daughter could not have been carried out by "his friends" in Kiryat Arba.

Levinger, Harel and Haetzni are all strong proponents of what they call "coexistence" with the local population; but they have definite ideas about the nature of that coexistence. Levinger notes that the Jewish tradition commands Jews to love their neighbours, and this includes Arabs; but he adds sternly the Solomonic proverb: "Spare the rod and spoil the child." He favours a tougher stance by the IDF: bigger fines, longer prison sentences and, for murder, the death sentence.

Although, as has been mentioned, the struggle against withdrawal from Sinai was not an official Gush operation, none of the leaders tried to duck responsibility for it.

Levinger notes that evicting people from their homes was a serious business; it called for a stronger response than just sitting in the road and singing "Am Yisrael Hai" ("The people of Israel lives"). He thinks the Gush prevented a catastrophe at Yamit and will — if necessary — prevent one in future too. He discounts the fears of some that there could be civil strife in Israel.

"There won't be a violent conflict," he declares. "One side — our side — will refuse to fight!"

Gush Emunim looks to the future with confidence. Harel claims that there are already 30,000 Jews living beyond the Green Line, and by the end of the summer the number will be doubled.

He denies that this involves the dispossession of Arabs. "Only 300,000 dunams (about 75,000 acres) out of more than five million in Judea and Samaria have been designated for Jewish settlement," he notes correctly. (He does not mention that upwards of two million dunams have been designated "state land" by a Justice Ministry team led by Piliha Albeck.) "We have more than enough for our first 100,000," he smiles.

He has good reason to smile: Gush Emunim has come a long way from the Park Hotel in Hebron. □

VIEWPOINT



Israeli troops keeping watch on Syrian positions on the eastern front in Lebanon (1981)

How the Middle East has been changed

The Director-General of Israel's Foreign Ministry, David Kimche, considers the changes — military and political — which have been brought about by the war in Lebanon. His assessment was made in an address in London last week to the Royal United Services Institute.

Let me first paint, in broad lines, the picture prior to the war in Lebanon, as seen through Israeli eyes. The dominating feature in the Middle East was not the Arab-Israeli conflict — indeed, with the final departure by Israeli forces from the Sinai on April 25 and the subsequent consolidation of the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty, that conflict appeared to have been put on a side-burner. The dominant feature was the Iran-Iraq war.

The spectre of a modern version of the hordes of Genghis Khan pouring into the Fertile Crescent from the East has terrified the Arab world. Once-wealthy Iraq, which had launched its army with such impunity against Iran two years ago, was now barely holding its own, and, indeed, has had more than \$30b. pumped into its sagging economy by the other oil-rich Arab countries in a desperate effort to prevent it from collapsing.

Thus, from the Israeli point of view, both Egypt and Iraq, for very different reasons, had been removed as a threat. Egypt we hope permanently, Iraq certainly for a long time. However, on our northern front, the picture was very different: Syria, with its six armoured and mechanized divisions, its large commando forces, its formidable artillery corps, its air force of more than 500 aircraft and its strong air defence system, this Syria had embarked on a military build-up programme, to be completed by the end of 1982, and we had reasons to believe that Syria might be contemplating an offensive against us some time in 1982 or 1983.

And next door in the Lebanon, was the PLO. The PLO, before the June war in Lebanon, was engaged in an intensive process of building up a conventional military infrastructure in South Lebanon, replete with armour and artillery, and this in addition to its non-conventional elements of terrorist units.

There was no lack of funds, and therefore no lack of guns and ammunition: The PLO had, in June 1982, in that minuscule area of Southern Lebanon almost the same number of artillery pieces — all trained on villages and towns in Galilee — as the number of artillery

in the entire British Army today. And all this was in the hands of an organization dedicated to our destruction, unfettered by the limitations of responsibility of a sovereign state, and anxious to prevent at all costs the process of peace in the Middle East which had been set in train at Camp David. It was this situation and attitude, and the constant threat it implied for the citizens of Galilee, that made the Lebanese war inevitable.

THAT WAR transformed the picture. The PLO military infrastructure was smashed; the Syrian Army — and especially its air force and air defence system — received a severe beating; negotiations were got under way between Israel and yet another of its neighbours, the peace process in the Middle East thus being given another push forward; and King Hussein was given another chance to join that process by answering the invitation of Prime Minister Begin to join the peace negotiations.

On the face of it, the picture is a rosy one, and indeed, I am convinced that the overall situation in the Middle East today is far more positive than it was a year ago. However, it is more complex than the description I have just made, and I would like now to examine some of those complexities.

First, there is the question of the Soviet Union. The Soviets were badly hit by the Lebanese war. Their clients, both the PLO and the Syrians, were defeated; their weaponry — Mig 21s and 23, the much-vaunted T-72 tank and, above all, their air defence system based on their SAM missiles — was destroyed at very little cost to ourselves, and their promised support was proved worthless.

Small wonder that today Arab delegations go to Washington and not to Moscow. Small wonder that Communist Parties throughout the Arab world have suffered because of the Lebanese war. And small wonder that the Soviet Union has had to take drastic action in the Middle East in order to recoup some of its losses.

That action took the form of the installation of SAM-5 missiles in Syria, the first time these

sophisticated weapons have been placed anywhere outside the Communist bloc. I am not sure the implications of the Soviet move have been fully appreciated: The Soviets have, in a remarkably short time, deployed an entire integrated air defence division, based on two missile brigades.

They have more than doubled their military personnel in Syria, which now number more than 4,000, and Soviet troops protect the missile sites. These missiles not only give better protection of Syrian air space, but they also give control over the air space of the entire region.

This move on the part of the Soviets has caused a marked improvement of Syrian military capabilities and has strengthened Syrian influence and position in the Arab world, especially vis-à-vis Jordan and Lebanon. In this respect, the danger that the Syrians may attempt to sabotage any agreement in the Lebanon, or may refuse to withdraw from Lebanon altogether, has greatly increased, and any advantage gained by Syria will automatically be construed in the region as a Soviet achievement.

RELATED to the Syrian-Soviet move are the current PLO moves aimed at preventing an agreement in the Lebanon and forestalling any progress in the peace process. The PLO has been pressuring Arab states to threaten Lebanon with sanctions if they reach agreement with Israel on any form of normal relations. The PLO has also withheld its approval for King Hussein joining the negotiations.

For the PLO, in contrast to what many people in Europe apparently believe, has not changed its aims. It is still dedicated to our destruction, by what they call "armed struggle" and we call terrorism.

This brings us back to the Lebanon and to the negotiations we are conducting there. Let me say at the outset that our major aim is to prevent the PLO from returning and transforming the Lebanon yet once more into a base for aggressive actions against us. For this reason we are demanding effective security measures in the South.

The Lebanese themselves wish the PLO back no more than we do, and this is true not only of the Christians, but also of the Muslims.

One of the Muslim leaders told me: "We suffered from the PLO more than the Christians did, because they were in our midst, and not in Christian areas. They slaughtered our people and prostituted the land."

We have become convinced that a large section of the population, including many Muslims, would like to have normal good-neighbourly relations with us, and this is the second aim in our negotiations.

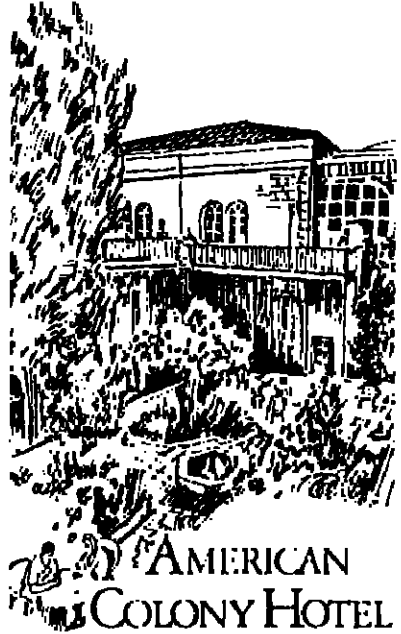
The Lebanese are holding back only because of the threats of the Arab countries I mentioned earlier. And the third point I would like to make is that it is the policy of Israel to withdraw its forces from the Lebanon at the earliest possible date, once we have achieved those two aims I have mentioned and on the condition that the other foreign forces — the PLO and Syria — also leave Lebanon.

I should note that this condition is particularly welcomed by the Lebanese; the last thing they would want is for us to withdraw and leave the PLO and Syrians there.

If we succeed in our negotiations, and the foreign forces do withdraw, then Lebanese sovereignty can be restored and the central government can reassert itself.

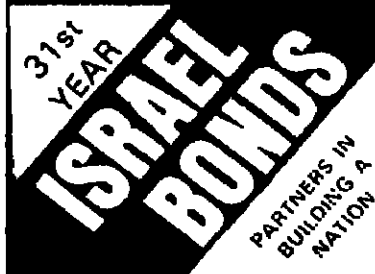
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Palestine homeland is no solution

JUST ABOUT every diplomat and foreign policy expert conversant with the matter accepts as axiomatic that the way to remove the roadblock to realistic negotiation on the Palestine problem is to offer the Palestinian "homeless" a national "homeland" in the West Bank and Gaza.

A homeland for whom? Naturally for all those who identify as Palestinians, those in the diaspora as well as the inhabitants of the occupied territories? Well, not quite.

The Reagan plan is really concerned not with the homeless but with a role for the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza in determining their future political status in the framework of an association with Jordan.

Yet, Mr. Reagan appeared to promise much more. Beirut, said the president on September 1, dramatized the homelessness of the Palestinian people, and the homeland is presumably for all of them.

BUT, DOES the Reagan plan really point the way to a cure for the homelessness of the Palestinians in the camps and in the surrounding Arab lands? Hardly.

For, as the Reagan blueprint makes clear, the peacemakers' solution to the Palestine problem is really a formula for self-rule for the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. If the negotiation is successful, a "homeland" is created for about 1.3 million Palestinian Arabs (1.4 million if those in East Jerusalem are added) who would participate in determining their own future.

If the Camp David scenario is then played out, during the five-year transitional autonomy period, representatives of the self-governing authority, along with those of Egypt, Jordan and Israel, will decide the "modalities" and, presumably, the numbers of persons displaced from the West Bank who could return there.

Is it reasonable to expect that more than 200,000 from outside the area could be absorbed? In effect the "homeland" would accommodate somewhat over a million and a half — the inhabitants of the area and a handful of returnees.

If the Reagan plan for a West Bank homeland materializes, we are essentially back to the pre-1967 situation; it hardly touches the problem of 1948, the homeless who remember, or were told stories by their grandparents about, Haifa and Jaffa and Beersheba (with romantic embellishments woven by PLO historians).

TAKING A CENSUS of Palestinians around the world has for years been a highly politicized numbers game; available statistics have been adulterated to suit partisan purposes. But it is not unreasonable to accept a ballpark figure of four million, splitting the difference between the CIA's 3.7 million and the 4.25 million in the PLO's June 1980 statistics.

Of these four million, approximately a million-and-a-half would be accommodated in the "homeland" (as calculated above), while better than half a million reside as citizens in Israel and presumably are not counted among the exiles. This leaves approximately two million "diaspora" Palestinians, half of whom are to be found in Jordan while the rest are scattered from Lebanon to Lima and,



presumably, still yearning for a homeland.

About two-thirds of the Palestinians outside Israel and West Bank-Gaza are "refugees" in the technical sense that they are registered with the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) to receive rations and various health, education and welfare benefits. But not all the "homeless" Palestinians are "refugees" and not all the "refugees" live outside the West Bank and Gaza.

The character and dimensions of

not, in political discourse this group is defined as homeless in the sense that their civic, social and economic circumstances are considered temporary or transitional to later normalization elsewhere. The raw truth — only hinted at in official declarations and open analyses — is that a Palestinian entity on the West Bank (whether Mr. Reagan's design or that of the European Community) will not solve the perceived "homelessness" of this group, whose nostalgia in any case is not for Jenin but for Jaffa.

By N.A. PELCOVITS

the problem of the "homeless" are obscured by confusing and doctored statistics. UNRWA rolls are admittedly padded with tombstones and false names. What compounds the confusion is that the two different sets of numbers employed in analysis of the Palestinian problem — the UNRWA-registered refugees and the "diaspora" population (those living outside Israel and West Bank-Gaza) — fortuitously add up to the same aggregate (close to two million); but they count two different, though overlapping, populations.

Thus, about 40 per cent of the 1.9 million registered refugees are to be found in the West Bank and Gaza, most of them outside camps so they obviously are not "homeless."

Moreover, while some 700,000 refugees (35 per cent of those registered) live in 60 camps served by UNRWA, not even all those in the camps can be considered Palestinian homeless.

The most populous "camps" — Sabra and Shatila being recent painful examples — are in many respects no different from the suburban slums and squatter settlements on the outskirts of the world's large cities, from Bombay to Rio, from Dacca to Lagos, and house a population of *les misérables*, by no means confined to Palestinians.

STILL, when President Reagan and the Arab world talk about the predicament of the Palestinian "homeless," they are presumably referring not only to the UNRWA-registered refugees in Jordan, Lebanon and Syria — though these may be foremost on their minds — but to all the "displaced" Palestinians living outside the geographic boundaries of Israel, the West Bank and Gaza.

Whether registered refugees or

who won't be accommodated in the "homeland."

IF THERE is to be any hope for progress, three steps must be taken sooner or later:

Firstly, the refugees who will not find permanent homes in the "homeland" must be resettled and compensated.

This requires, first and foremost, a commitment by Arab leaders to take the issue out of the diplomatic closet and assess the dimensions of need and the realistic options. An accurate, depoliticized census of demographic structure, location, social and economic needs of the refugees and other diaspora Palestinians is the first step, and in tandem the PLO-indoctrinated inhabitants of the camps must be deprogrammed. Only a responsible Arab leadership can administer therapy in reality, the painful truth that there is no going back to Haifa and Ramle; that most of the refugees can't be accommodated on the West Bank; and that their destiny lies in absorption in surrounding Arab lands, on the pattern of Israel's absorption of the Jewish refugees from Baghdad and Aden.

The problem of absorption in the sense of economic and civic normalization may not be as complicated as the gross figures suggest. Close to a million, approximately half of those outside the boundaries of mandatory West Palestine, are in East Jordan and are already eligible for permanent Jordanian citizenship.

Jordan now grants a passport or identity papers to any Palestinian who asks for it and the federation would make permanent citizenship a natural. One can assume that 100,000 to 200,000 (depending on whose figures are accepted) now living in Western Europe, the U.S., Latin America and "elsewhere abroad" will prefer to be integrated where they are, most of them being citizens of those countries, while retaining a cultural kinship with their brethren in the homeland.

Some may prefer the status and juridical shelter of Palestinian or Jordanian passports. For the remaining 750,000 or so, a realistic and equitable plan for resettlement is imperative.

Only the Arab leaders can assume the responsibility for such a plan, for they alone can know the balance sheet of political and economic tolerances. Only they can determine the absorptive capacity of underpopulated Iraq, which surely can accommodate more than the 20,000 Palestinians now living there.

Kuwait (where 270,000 Palestinians live), Saudi Arabia (125-150,000) and the smaller Gulf States (50-100,000) should be able to absorb most of the Palestinians resident in their borders.

Lebanon is a more complex problem, even apart from the ultimate disposition of the 8,000 PLO fighters in the north who depend on Syria and would presumably depart with the Syrian troops.

Lebanon cannot find stability until an agreement is reached on the disposition of the half-million Palestinians, particularly those who arrived in the 1970 wave and those living in camps. The government of Amin Jemayel considers the presence of such a large number of unassimilated refugees destabilizing, and the Arab plan will probably need to provide for the migration of perhaps half of them to neighbouring Arab lands.

It is disingenuous to pretend that a negotiation on the Palestine problem can be deemed sensible or serious short of an Arab consensus to address with specificity the future of the bulk of the refugees, those

SECONDLY, the UNRWA operation and the camps must be phased out. No solution for the Palestinian homeless will work and no durable settlement of the Palestine problem is conceivable if the camps and the UN relief operation drag on for yet another generation.

The main reason for UNRWA's perpetuation has been the opposition of host countries to integrating the health-education-welfare services of UNRWA with those provided (or in many cases not provided) for their own needy population, for this would mean assimilation into the community.

Better to blackmail the West, particularly the U.S., into financing this most costly and most durable of all refugee operations under the guise of humanitarian relief, threatening riots and radical turmoil if ransom is withheld.

This policy of apartheid for Palestinians, prevalent not only in the West Bank and Gaza but in the three Arab states in which camps are located (Lebanon, Syria and Jordan), has been the principal stumbling block to absorption. No settlement of the refugee problem is possible until this segregationist policy ends and the vast majority of those on the UNRWA rolls are assimilated in an orderly fashion into the surrounding Arab population, erasing the distinction between the Palestine refugees and others in need.

The concern here is mainly, though not exclusively, with the camp population of about 700,000 (counting those in the West Bank and Gaza) whose claims — basic necessities, schooling, medical care, housing and jobs — will have to be assumed by a new absorption authority operating with generous international help.

The main effort should be aimed at getting people out of the camps and creating a sense of dynamic in the direction of resettlement and assimilation.

Thirdly, the anti-Israel chorus in the UN must be stopped. If the psychological element is 90 per cent of the Arab-Israeli feud, as Anwar Sadat taught, then peace remains elusive so long as the UN allows itself to be used as an engine of political animus against Israel.

Mainly in the UN General Assembly, but also in innumerable conferences and "seminars," a well-orchestrated campaign has been intensified during the past eight years to legitimize and support the "inalienable right" of Palestinians to "return" — to well, not the West Bank, but to "their homes and property" in Israel proper.

No one really believes this but the masquerade continues, tolerated and assisted by West Europeans as well as the non-aligned allies of the Arab states. Its dual purpose is to isolate and delegitimize Israel and to boost the political fortunes of the PLO and to broadcast the familiar refrain calling for the "return."

Many influential Americans and Europeans dismiss such exercises as theatre, a cathartic venting of steam — and what's the harm since it brings pressure on Israel to negotiate with Yasser Arafat. Those who discount the rhetoric and dignity the event by their attendance fail to appreciate the impact on both the refugees and on Israel.

Why should the *misérables* in the camps not believe the myth of return or accept compromise and why should Israelis not be con-

(Continued on Page 16)

ISSUES

THE IDF has always been up to its ears in politics, but we have never been free to write about it until now. This assertion is made in a fascinating book now being published by the Cambridge University Press: *Between Battles and Ballots: Israel Military in Politics* by Yoram Peri.

As one leafs through Peri's analysis and documentation, the realization dawns that while former Defence Minister Ariel Sharon and retiring Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan have been the targets of much justified criticism for excessive independence on the one hand, and over-involvement in the democratic process on the other, they were not acting very differently from their predecessors. On the contrary, they seem almost moderate by comparison.

The book represents a combination of Peri's experience in three very different worlds. He learned about the political and military process during his association with Yitzhak Rabin, the former prime minister and chief of staff. He acquired a readable style as a working journalist for *Davar*. And his academic background provided the skills necessary for the meticulous research evident in *Between Battles and Ballots*.

The work's central thesis is that there are no clear guidelines governing the military-civil relationship; that the military has always had an inordinate influence on policy, often even dictating it; and that despite the importance of his position, the minister of defence has no clearly defined role and no clearly assigned responsibility.

Perhaps the most fascinating chapter in the book, though by no means the most important, is the penultimate one, which deals with crises in political-military relations. New material on the Lavon and Ben-Barka affairs, on what actually happened between the military and the government during the 1967 "waiting period" and the war of the generals in 1973, makes one cringe.

He cites the 1954 "mishap" — the term coined to describe sabotage actions carried out against Western interests in Egypt by Intelligence Unit 131, whose members were eventually captured and tried by the Egyptians — as Israel's first acute crisis, which "exposed the intrinsic weaknesses inherent in the arrangements between the army and the political system."

In 1954, writes Peri, the political system pivoted around the abysmal relationship between B-G's successor as prime minister, Moshe Sharett, and Pinhas Lavon, who held the defence portfolio B-G had given up. They were rivals for the succession, "poles apart in character and mentality," and held widely different views on foreign affairs and security.

"The total breakdown in communication between them...and the impossibility of formulating a cohesive policy resulted in the simultaneous pursuit of contradictory policies implemented by different arms of the state," Peri says. "Lavon's strength and Sharett's weakness allowed the army to penetrate the diplomatic field not only without the prime minister's knowledge, but also against his explicit policy."

While the operation of IDP Intelligence Unit 131 in Egypt represented one conflict, "an even more acute crisis of authority surfaced between the political and civilian echelons. The civilian Lavon, an extreme dove throughout

Defence Correspondent Hirsh Goodman finds that the line separating the authority of the civilian and military leadership has often been blurred in times of crisis.

The army and politics

his political career, when appointed defence minister in Ben-Gurion's place, about-turned to become an extreme hawk and wanted to impose his authority on the military, the easy task given the personality of the chief of staff. On the eve of his departure, Ben-Gurion had appointed Moshe Dayan as chief of staff and Shimon Peres as the director-general of the Defence Ministry. Not only did both men suspect all attempts by the new minister to curb their control over the army and the Ministry, they also saw in him a political adversary.

"Seeking to exert control over the military, Lavon tried to weaken Dayan's command authority by making personal contact with officers, even to the extent of giving them direct orders. Dayan's vehement opposition twice brought him to the verge of resigning."

ACCORDING TO PERI, Dayan "never concealed his political inclinations" when he was in military service. He was extensively engaged, "both privately and publicly" in party politics after he was appointed chief of staff.

"If government policies ran counter to Dayan's undisguised activist view, he operated in contradiction of them. When he had the defence minister's support, the two colluded, but when the minister did not agree with him, Dayan carried out actions which had neither civil approval nor backing. These would be concealed from, or deliberately misreported to, the minister. Lavon alleged that at that time the IDF would often go beyond its instructions and subsequently send him false reports. Appearing before the Knesset Defence and Foreign Affairs Committee in 1960, he said that Dayan would often deceive him about the army's operations: 'He used to...enlarge several times beyond his instructions the scope of the operations during their performance.'"

Although Dayan "was more attuned to Lavon's views on defence and foreign affairs...that was irrelevant once the two had embarked on a desperate struggle for power. Dayan's hostile attitude to Sharett and Lavon, coupled with his strong desire to contrive their abdication in favour of his political patron Ben-Gurion, induced him to undermine the government actively and publicly," writes Peri.

Peri's chapter on the "waiting period" before the 1967 war is exhaustive. A sample:

"The crisis in political-military relations during the 'waiting period' was as severe as the political crisis. It is generally accepted that the GHQ exerted constitutional pressure on the government to go to war; three meetings between the prime minister and groups of generals are significant. The first was on May 25. Eshkol (the prime minister) visited the Southern Command with Allon and met the commander, Aluf Yishayahu Gavish, and Arik Sharon. The meeting became a sharp confrontation when the officers openly doubted the

reason behind the cabinet decision to make a further delay."

"More seriously, after the cabinet agreed to postpone the decision of whether to go to war for another fortnight, Chief of Staff Rabin asked Eshkol on May 28 to explain this to the high command. Since 1967 the military censorship has forbidden publication of the encounter. However, from the details disclosed, it is clear that some generals used language inappropriate for public servants when speaking to their political master. (One described the cabinet's diplomatic efforts as 'begging'; another argued that the cabinet would have to answer for a high casualty rate in the war; a third even dared to suggest that a moment might arrive when a military man should ask himself whether the good of state had priority over the government's instructions.)

"The crisis in the relationship between the politicians and the generals did not consist of the fact that the army forced the cabinet to go to war against its better judgement. The crisis lay, firstly, in a dramatic and rapid change of the nature of the boundaries between the political and the military systems at both the party and state levels. Secondly, for the first time in the state's history the army interfered directly in the purely political issue of the cabinet's composition."

THE CHAPTER continues with the army's meddling in internal politics in 1967, takes us through the difficult period of 1973 when there



Soldier and statesman: Chief of Staff designate Moshe Levi, left, and Defence Minister Arens.

was a breakdown between Dayan and the IDF command and tensions within the command structure itself. While tensions are legitimate, Peri's documentation of what motivated them and how they manifested themselves make spell-binding reading.

"Although irritated by Dayan's endeavours to regain his former power — 'without his finger no finger will pull any trigger' — Chief of Staff David (Dado) Elazar said nothing. Two days later Dayan tried to tighten up his control, and Amit tried to lay down the law to the chief of staff. Elazar retorted sharply:

"I don't go along with that. Sorry. Air force attacks during the day I'm not submitting for approval. Only if we do something special, but I'm not going to ask permission for attacks on airfields or artillery batteries...we are already ten days into the war. I only sought permission when I thought the actions had an extraordinary political dimension, and I am continuing to conduct the war. If the minister wants to know what is going on — you are here. Every evening there is a plan for tomorrow — show it to him. I am not conducting a war with a seal of approval on each of my moves. I haven't done that during the last ten days and I'm not going to do so now. The minister of defence may come, sit here, get the plans, approve them and conduct the war. But as things are now, it cannot be."

"A week later Dayan again changed course and reverted to giving direct orders bypassing the chief of staff. After a few such occasions, Elazar told Aluf Gonen, on hearing that Dayan had given him a direct order: 'Whatever the minister tells you is very interesting. However, orders you receive only from me.' Gonen complied."

The book goes on to describe General Israel Tal's rebellion following the Yom Kippur War, a chapter overflowing with examples of military insubordination and involvement in affairs of state, leading Peri to conclude:

"Over 30 years, the way in which the political leadership dealt with these crises did not alter. At the point of crisis, it relegated to marginal significance the deterioration in political-military relations and concentrated on trying to solve the central political problem, sometimes even at the price of breaking the principles governing political-military relations. After the crisis, the political leadership never had time to study the weak institutional links and to grapple with basics. Rather, it endeavoured to move to the next item on the agenda and to restore the *status quo*."

"On the surface that was the case, but in reality the political elite pushed forward the development of military-political partnership in Israel. Each crisis lengthened the permeable sections of the boundaries between the military and political systems in all three areas, public, party and national. Each crisis further enmeshed the intermingling of the military and political systems and speeded up the convergence of the normative code, the patterns of behaviour and the

principles of operation in both sectors."

GIVEN THAT, and the examples given by Peri, it is with trepidation that one approaches the last chapter: "The Begin Era: Will There be a Military Coup?" Things have become worse, not better, Peri writes. Izzer Weizman's transition from super-hawk to super-dove estranged the minister from the army. Weizman's resignation and Begin's inaction after assuming the defence portfolio afforded Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan virtual independence in decision-making leading to a policy in Lebanon articulated by generals, and not the cabinet.

Eitan's independence of Begin is dealt with in great detail, specifically over Israel's policy in Lebanon before Ariel Sharon was named defence minister.

"However, the factor that most enhanced the IDF's involvement in Israeli politics was its continuing role as an army of occupation, maintaining a Military Government on the West Bank. On May 11, 1978 Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan, the newly appointed chief of staff, issued a public declaration affirming Israel's right to the West Bank. For the first time since 1967 the chief of staff publicly pronounced his own views on so controversial an issue, basing his position not only on security considerations, but also on political and ideological arguments."

"Though his views did not reflect those of the entire General Staff, it is the chief of staff more than anyone else who is taken as a symbol of the entire IDF. With his declaration that the West Bank should remain a part of the State of Israel, the chief of staff came down firmly on the side of one of the rival ideological camps on the principal controversy dividing Israeli opinion."

"The chief of staff's political activity gravely affected the broader scope of civil-military relationships in Israel. The tasks assumed by the IDF as an army of occupation — to maintain law and order, to prevent demonstrations, to restrict the movement of Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories, to intervene physically when attempts were made to resist land-seizure orders etc. — were functions that the public accepted as essential so long as the occupation itself was held to be vital for Israel's security. But once Israelis realized that the IDF's attitude to the terrorists was determined not solely by military considerations and security needs, but also by a controversial political and ideological outlook, the IDF lost that image of a purely professional army that Ben-Gurion had worked so hard to project."

PERI'S BOOK does not include Sharon's period as defence minister, nor does it deal with Operation Peace for Galilee in any meaningful way. Both these subjects are, in themselves, apparently enough for a book.

The tension between the army and the state, between the defence minister and the army, are all consistent with past history, it seems. What may differ is the degree. Does this mean that a coup, or dominance of Israel society by the military, is possible? This is Peri's conclusion:

"Research into civil-military relations in Israel has not progressed far in thirty years, and the proposition that Israel is a stable democracy immune to military participation in government still dominates the literature. But an upheaval should not be ruled out."



Couldn't wait. Jerusalem youngsters Menahem and Sarit got in early with sampling this year's maize product.

Looking on the dark side

TELEREVIEW
Philip Gillon

THE LEMMING is a small rodent that lives in the Arctic. Every three or four years, multitudes of lemmings leave their normal habitats and migrate through Norway, Lapland and Sweden, devouring everything on which they can lay their teeth, until they reach the Atlantic Ocean or the Gulf of Bothnia. They then swim indomitably out to sea until they are all drowned.

Dan Wolman was apparently inspired by the lemmings' mass suicide when he made *The Man who Prams-Pam-Pam*, a light-hearted and brilliant Israeli exercise in profound pessimism. No lemmings being available to serve as extras, presumably because they were all drowned, he was forced to use news-shots of whales that joined in a vast suicide pact by leaving the ocean to perish on polluted beaches.

In many ways, *The Man who Prams-Pam-Pam* reminded me of Voltaire's *Candide*; it was completely cynical, it treated man as the most loathsome creature ever to infest this planet. It mocked Pangloss's doctrine that all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds, and yet it took all calamities merrily in its stride. In some respects it was even more chilling than *Candide*, in which the hero at least came to the conclusion that he could avoid the terrors of this world by cultivating his garden. Wolman's hero, superbly acted by Nahman Ingber, finds his solution by leading his human beings into the sea.

NEVERTHELESS, like *Candide*, Wolman's black comedy was very funny. If I did not laugh uproariously at the Israeli condition, at least I uttered continuously.

If the film has a fault, it is that the horrors of Israel depicted for us hardly merited the film's despair. A little assault and rape; a murderous taxi-driver; riotous bus queues; the insolence and corruption of office; the pain of getting medical attention (and this was even in pre-strike days) — these comparatively trivial problems are not reasons to kill ourselves.

One can think of many Israeli happenings that should really make us feel suicidal. For instance, last week a Jewish deputy speaker of the Knesset suggested that we might

empty the West Bank by carrying out mass deportations, and we had a Jewish plan to pay allowances to large families according to a racial test. These ironies of history are far worse than anything Wolman showed us.

But he may have been right to stick to the stereotypes, knowing that the conditioned reflex laughter they would elicit would make his denouement all the more shocking. Or he may have decided that he could never raise the money to produce his film if he showed real horrors.

It is said that, towards the end of World War I, when the Central Powers were facing defeat, the Germans described the situation as serious but not hopeless, while the Austrians defined it as hopeless but not serious. Wolman adopted the Austrian view about life in this country.

Of course, I may be giving him credit for symbolism and objectives he never intended, like an art critic explaining an abstract painting.

Whatever his intentions, he certainly succeeded in giving us a film that was as provocative as it was entertaining. I hope that he will continue to create films of this high standard.

By coincidence, a day or two later we saw the film of Hemingway's *Old Man and the Sea*, which also dealt with the fatal lure of the vast ocean, and the futility of



Nahman Ingber: Prams-Pam-Pam.

Spot to splurge

MATTERS OF TASTE / Haim Shapiro

CONSIDERED BY many to be the best restaurant in Israel, Jaffa's Alhambra is tucked away inconspicuously at 30 Sderot Yerushalayim, opposite what was once the Alhambra Theatre.

I'm a snob in reverse so it pleases me that this restaurant is located in a rather run-down area, removed from tarty-up Jaffa Port, and the instant glamour of North Tel Aviv. I even forgive the rather creaky stairway by which one climbs to the dining area.

The decor is also to my liking; it's elegant without ostentation. There are giant reproductions of tapestries on the walls. Two of the most exotic-looking waiters I have seen in Israel added a touch of glamour. One of them told us he was from Tahiti; he had decided to stay on after working here for the Club Med/Mediterranean.

We chose our courses with the help of a capable young woman. It was only later we learned there is also a printed menu.

I had thought of beginning with goose liver, but it was pointed out that it might be better as a main course, as it was the specialty of the house. However, I chose shrimp thermidor — three giant shrimps, split in their shells and baked with cheese. They were delicious though I felt afterwards that this was not the ideal way to serve them. But I have become so bored with the ubiquitous shrimp in butter and garlic that I welcomed any change.

MY COMPANION tried the cula-mari in a sauce provençal. This was tasty though far from exquisite. One had no driving desire to sipp every drop of sauce with the excellent crisp roll provided. During the first course I began to have my doubts about the reputation of this restaurant.

I was only reassured at this point by the wine, a bottle of Carmel Mizrahi Sauvignon '79, but far better than the usual wine with this

label. I can only assume that someone has *protektzia* at the winery.

But any doubts I may have had were quite resolved by the main course. It was two slices of grilled goose liver, served over a sublime cream sauce with mushrooms and slivers of almonds. The combination of flavours and textures was superlative. Here I put my toll to good use, and I wiped up every last drop of sauce.

Nor was I any less impressed by my companion's sea bass in sorrel sauce. Sorrel is a clover-like herb, with a slightly lemony taste, and it grows wild anywhere in Israel when the soil is well-watered. The slightly sharp taste of the sauce blended perfectly with the fish. Moreover, a variation in texture was provided in the form of slivers of a crunchily vegetable (I think it was a Jerusalem artichoke).

Equally impressive were the *rostiti*, a pancake-like creation of fried potatoes, and the simple but exquisite creamed spinach which accompanied the main courses. I welcomed also a salad composed of simple tender leaves of local lettuce with a slightly mustardy dressing. I was glad that the restaurant didn't serve iceberg lettuce, which may be a bit nicer-looking but lacks flavour.

FOR DESSERT, I attempted to atone for my very rich meal with a cooked orange. The bitterness of the orange peel was just right after all the heavy food. And the orange sat in a pool of cream! My companion had a splendid, very thin meringue with cream and praline.

The espresso was excellent. The bill came to IS2,619, admittedly quite a bit. But I have paid more elsewhere for very much inferior meals. If your uncle Seymour wants to take you out, and money is no object, then the Alhambra is one place where you won't find yourself apologizing for local restaurants.

PALESTINE HOMELAND

(Continued from Page 14)

cerned about the ultimate goal of "a liberated Palestine" when the overwhelming majority of the UN General Assembly, year after year, bestows its blessing on the committee's proposal for the "return of the Palestine people to their homes and property."

NATURALLY, the message that gets through to Israelis from such mischievous proceedings hardly reassures them that a West Bank entity, no matter how closely linked to Jordan, will abandon irredentist claims on Israel territory.

For Israel, more important than Security Council guarantees backed by Great Power collateral (the formula on which the Soviet Union and France and, from time to time, Britain have been fixated for a dozen years) would be a credible signal from Arab leaders, encouraged by the key world powers, that they mean to get serious and practical about resolving the refugee problem.

The core of such a new policy would have to be the readiness to

renounce the mythical option of "repatriation" (the UNRWA term) or "return" (the Palestine committee's) and to explore the other option offered by the General Assembly 34 years ago — resettlement and compensation.

Israel, of course, will have to contribute in substantial measure to any compensatory scheme, though it will probably insist that any accounting not ignore the losses sustained by the 600,000 Jewish refugees from Arab lands.

It is an illusion to pretend that significant movement toward a durable Middle East settlement is possible as long as diplomacy ignores the unresolved refugee issue which is inextricably wrapped in the unresolved political issue.

The writer, a former U.S. State Department official, teaches at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. Currently, he is at the Truman Institute of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

THE ARTS

EIN GEV is not only famous for its fried fish, its scenic beauty — on the banks of Lake Kinneret — and its heroic stand as a frontier post below Syrian guns for 19 years. It is also known for its Passover Festival, which this year celebrates its 40th anniversary.

It started modestly enough during World War II in the communal dining hall, and later moved into the spacious, mostly open festival hall. The initiative to turn it into a more ambitious festival came from Serge Koussevitzky, who immediately recognized the attraction of the venue and thought of creating something along the lines of the Tanglewood Summer Festival. The main problem was finding the means to implement the idea. And there was also the problem of infiltrators from across the border and trigger-happy Syrian soldiers.

It seemed that the best time of the year for this music festival was Pessah, since it gets rather hot in summer, with temperatures hovering around 40°C, and in winter, when it rains, there is often flooding and roads are cut off. But even in spring, musicians and visitors sometimes got stuck when late rains overtook them. But the show always went on.

With meagre funds at his disposal, Yaacov Steinberger, the retiring festival manager (who was also a founding member of Kibbutz Ein Gev), had to rely mostly on the local orchestras and entertainment groups, supplemented by visiting artists or ensembles who happened to be touring the country. For years, the Israel Defence Forces contributed one evening, with the Army Band, the Air Force Band, and

Lakeside festival

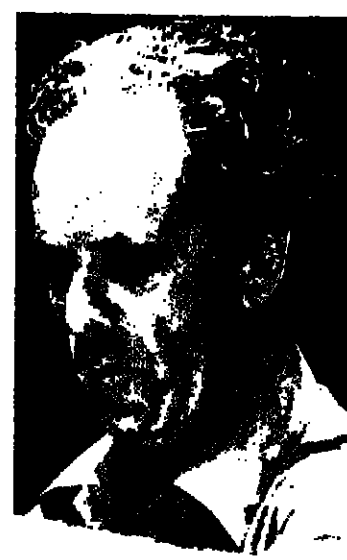
MUSIC & MUSICIANS / Yohanan Boehm

entertainment groups providing attractive and always popular programmes. Later, with the reorganization of the IDF and the cuts in manpower, these contributions were discontinued, to our regret. Lately, the Kibbutz Movement has come to the fore with its cultural organizations and taken over part of the week's programme with its presentations.

THIS YEAR, three of the six events will be presented by kibbutz groups. Opening night — Wednesday, March 30 — will see the Kibbutz Chamber Orchestra on the stage, with David Shaloun conducting, and Ariam Wiesel (piano) and Aviva Wiesel (harp) as soloists. The programme will include works by Ravel, Pärtis, Mahler, Mozart and Beethoven. The next evening will see the Kibbutz Dance Company in action.

Another programme is entitled "The Kibbutz in Song and Dance." Other events in the festival include the American Ballet Company; the Israel Chamber Orchestra under Yoav Talmi in works by Bach, Stamitz, Mozart and Haydn — with the famous flautist Aurele Nicolet as soloist; and the Graecheinger Kantorei, Stuttgart, conducted by Helmut Rilling, with music by Schuetz, Teichner, Bach and Brahms.

The festival is sponsored by the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Tourism.



Conductor Mendi Rodan... surprise party

THIS PAST WEEK has been a most interesting one musically. First, there was an evening with Dr. Paul Sacher from Basel, with three works composed in our time (1936, 1938 and 1946), two of which must have been quite unknown to the majority of the audience — Bohuslav Martinu's Concerto for Two String Orchestras, Piano and Trumpet, and Arthur Honegger's Fourth

The audience under fire

CURTAIN CALL
Marsha Pomerantz



Yona Eilan-Keshet...scolding teacher

down, but not quietly. The guest list for this special performance included Knesset Members and other luminaries.

From the start, Didi Manussi, rhymist and satirist, responded in kind, yelling out something like "The play is kindly requested to enter and be seated."

"You're MKs," our hosts said, in the final round of insults. "You're fired."

"Thanks," said Shulamit Aloni. "You're ministers without portfolio in a lame duck government," was one of the more sophisticated of the insults. When they flung a long list of our ailments at us,

Manussi said, "You forgot herpes." It was added to the list.

At the end the actors explained that this was the prologue to our future in theatre and acknowledged that we had "saved the play." But I don't think that we entirely succeeded with the acting.

THE AUDIENCE is used quite differently in a new play premiering at Beit Lessin — *Mora Shigun*, a title which suggests the double meanings of "terrific teacher" and "crazy teacher." It is Yonatan Gefen's translation and adaptation of a play by Brazilian Roberto Alai, directed by Hillel Ne'eman and acted by Yona Eilan-Keshet, with occasional participation by Avi Farraj, her victim, who comes up on stage from the audience.

But we are all her victims. We are her sixth-grade students, learning that obedience is all. She enters the hall from the rear door, as the audience does, carrying notebooks and juggling the traditional blue metal Jewish National Fund box. Some members of the audience even put in some spare change.

Puzzled latecomers are scolded, told to see her during the break. Though we aren't exactly reduced to jelly by the end — we outnumber Miriam the Teacher, after all, and we all know we're grown up, more or less — the play makes its point. It isn't about the conventions of theatre the way Handke's is, but about the conventions of real life, which are more dangerous. Trying to reconcile political mythology with a fear of death and life and a desperate need for order, she is reduced to jelly. And she, outside the theatre, is us.

Symphony; Barok's Music for Strings, Percussion & Celesta has already found its place on the more regular programmes.

Then came the Israel Sinfonietta under Mendi Rodan with an all-Schoenberg programme, quite a courageous undertaking considering our generally conservative audiences.

Readers might recall the scandal when the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra years back cancelled Schoenberg's Violin Concerto in the middle of a series out of fear that its subscribers would not renew their subscriptions (and replaced it with the safe Mendelssohn Concerto).

So Rodan's "audacity" must be commended. He has tried out an unusual programme previously. Recently, he presented Hannah Maron, the actress, reading Rainer Maria Rilke's "Cornet," with music by Telemann and Hindemith to illustrate the atmosphere and the mood of the poetry. The other item on this programme was Edith Sitwell's hilarious poems and William Walton's spirited and original music to "Macbeth."

Although "Beersheba" has been dropped from the Sinfonietta's name, the city is still the base and the primary beneficiary of its musical presentations. Last week, after the Schoenberg concert in Jerusalem, a surprise party was given at the Jerusalem Music Centre by the orchestra for its chief conductor and musical director to celebrate his 30 years as a conductor. Mendi Rodan spent most of that time in Israel, and we hope that he will be spared for many more decades.

New opera company

By MARSHA POMERANTZ

TEL AVIV. — A new Israeli opera company is being set up in cooperation with the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, and will be under the musical direction of Zubin Mehta.

The decision to establish the company was taken by the Tel Aviv municipality and the Education Ministry's Council for Culture and the Arts.

No organizational director has yet been chosen, but Gideon Paz, director of the 1982 Israel Festival, said last week that he had been asked by Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo Lahat and council director Avner Shalev to "move things along" until the management is formed. Paz, who came under fire for the festival's IS20 million deficit, said he has not decided whether to become a candidate for the post.

Two productions are planned for this summer under the artistic direction of Sura Caldwell, of the Boston Opera, and in cooperation with the Israel Chamber Orchestra.

The first full season of three productions with the IPO is expected to be 1984/85.

The Education Ministry last June cut funding to the 35-year-old Israel National Opera housed in a run-down building on Rehov Allenby in Tel Aviv. The opera, which had meagre resources and had long been criticized on artistic and organizational grounds, was forced to close.

Funding for the new opera will come from the city of Tel Aviv, the Council for Culture and Arts, and from contributions, including some from friends of the Israel National Opera in the U.S. who have agreed to transfer their loyalties to the new organization.



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ZELDA HARRIS is a rebel with many causes.

Whether for electoral reform, or for the rights of new immigrants, Russian Jews or the citizens of Nahariya, English-born Harris, executive director of the Committee for Concerned Citizens (CCC), has become known as a real fighter.

"From the time I was a kid — no, from age zero — I was an activist," she says, smiling. "At 16 I was organizing charity balls for Israel." At age 18, Harris left her native London to take her first crack at living in Israel. Her first job was modelling fashions at the opening of Haifa's now-defunct Megiddo Hotel.

"I was too ashamed to write back to England to tell everybody that I had become a model," says the petite, red-haired woman. "I'd come here to be a *halutz*. Even so, we had nothing to eat which is why today, when people grumble, I get so angry."

Eventually Harris married a fellow British immigrant whose illness in 1966 forced them and their children to go back to England.

"When we came back to Israel in 1978, there was an acute housing shortage," she recalls. "The head of our absorption centre met with all of us immigrants and apologized. 'I can find you jobs, but housing is a different story.' We wrung our hands trying to figure out what to do and finally decided we would go to the Ministry of Housing."

"We ended up sitting with Gula Cohen, at that time head of the Knesset Absorption Committee. She looked at me, and said, 'Zelda, you know what to do: demonstrate.'"

The group eventually ended up protesting the 50th Assembly of the Jewish Agency. However, it was not one of her "better" demonstrations, Harris says.

"We should have had all the heads of the absorption centres there. All the immigrant associations should have been represented. But, I was standing in that demonstration with many of the same Russians I had helped bring to Israel."

While she was in England during the 1960s, Harris was intent on keeping up her ties with Israel — which is where the Russians came in.

In 1969, Harris heard there was a need to collect clothes and money for Soviet Jews, and to start writing

A born fighter

Doing something about things which concern her — whether Soviet Jewry, or traffic accidents in Nahariya — is Zelda Harris' *raison d'être*. Roberta Elliot reports.



them letters. "I knew that was what I could contribute," she says. "I thought to myself: 'Had my parents not come from Russia when they did, today I would be one of those Soviet Jews.'"

By the time Raissa Polotnik disappeared in 1971, after being picked up by the Soviet authorities for translating Russian into Hebrew, the evolution of activist Harris was well underway.

"Oh, there are lots of people who could tell you about the Thirty-fives," she says, shrugging aside credit. "In fact, almost the entire leadership came on uliya and is living today in Israel."

The "Thirty-fives" were 35 women, all aged 35, who organized a 24-hour hunger strike for Polotnik (also aged 35) outside the Soviet Embassy in London on May 2, 1971. There was the first and one of the more dramatic of a number of acts staged by Western Jews, designed to force open the gates of emigration for the Jews who were eventually allowed to leave the Soviet Union in the mid-Seventies.)

Harris remained active in the British Soviet Jewry movement until her family finally settled permanently in Israel. Realizing the Soviet Jewry movement here was adequately manned, she began looking around for something to do.

"At the same time, I also discovered something else: that people from English-speaking countries —

about 130,000 — had made a minimal contribution to the state in terms of their position in public life. And yet they were also pretty vociferous about the things they didn't like."

She was disappointed in what she found here: "After living through the austerity of the Fifties and the recession of the Sixties, I would have expected that with the improvement in the standard of living, there would also be an improvement in the quality of life. I was shocked to find it wasn't the case."

Keen to activate English-speaking Israelis, Harris discussed her ideas with Haim Herzog (the president-elect, then an MK) who was helpful and sympathetic.

"We felt what was needed was some sort of a pressure group — a vehicle — to involve and integrate Westerners into the political fabric of the country. We didn't want to change Israel into a Western society, but to instill it with the democratic principles we'd grown up with, such as accountability of elected officials."

A short time later the Committee for Concerned Citizens (CCC) was born, with Harris as executive director. Today, two years and 1,000 dues-paying members later, the range of CCC's activities escapes categorization. Of the committee's achievements, Harris is perhaps most proud of its spearheading ef-

forts to affect major reforms in the electoral system.

Israel's present system of proportional representation was adopted during the War of Independence when it was impossible to divide the country into constituencies. At the time, it was implemented only as a stop-gap measure — which to this day has not been shed in favour of a system of direct representation.

Through letter-writing campaigns, canvassing and lobbying Knesset members, CCC generally poked, prodded and pressured legislators into forming a multi-party Knesset committee last spring to investigate the avenues of electoral reform.

On a smaller scale, CCC has thrice taken up the cudgels for Nahariya: first during the pre-Operation Peace for Galilee days by demonstrating for better bomb-shelters for the town tyrannized by katyushas and, secondly, by taking two busloads of Tel Avivians to the coastal town to boost its war-shattered tourist trade last summer.

Most recently, "We got back to Nahariya quite inadvertently when there was a terrible accident on the Acre-Nahariya road," Harris explains. "The first statement the mayor made after it was that for 10 years he had been asking for that strip of road to be repaired."

"We immediately contacted officials in Nahariya, and discovered

they had indeed been given the run-around. We've called members of the Knesset Finance Committee from the north, and we already have letters back from them saying they support Nahariya. We have vowed we will stick by them because we are seeking accountability."

What about having time for her family?

"My home is important," says Harris. "Probably the biggest brake on my ambitions is that my family (three sons and a grandchild) is so terribly important to me. When there is a major decision to be made, family comes first."

One thing Harris says she's lucky to have, is an understanding husband.

"Instead of trying to limit me, my husband has encouraged me. He knows that if he were to ask me to curtail or stop my activities, it would be unfair and resentments would build up — it would simply be counter-productive," she points out.

"When I was young, I would have rejected femininity as an important tool — I felt it was your personality, your integrity, your character that mattered. But, I find as I get older — particularly since I work so much with men like the police and members of parliament — if I smile and I'm soft, then I get a lot further than if I'm aggressive and intimidating. You have to be a real woman, rather than someone just imitating male behaviour."

In Harris' opinion, women are far more tenacious than men.

"We have to take so much responsibility for what goes on in the family, plus any outside activities. It's true, men take on far fewer responsibilities. At the end of a very busy day, I'm the one who has to go home and put a meal on the table, worry about the washing, the flowers, and the dust in the house."

It's the tenacity, one suspects, more than anything else that keeps Zelda Harris worrying about electoral reform, Nahariya, the accountability of our elected officials, etc. "How do I know I'm not just tilting at windmills?" she asks, repeating the question. "I don't, but at least we've done something no one else has. At least, we've set an example."

minutes they tended to freeze over the mouth and nose."

She then became one of the "Teheran Children" and spent two years in that city. After a time, she got herself a job as an assistant to a Teheran furrier who happened to work for the Shah's court, and designed for the Shah's first wife.

Then, in 1944, came a six-week ocean voyage to Palestine via India. Four years later, she became one of the first women officers in Israel's new air force.

Her first real fashion apprenticeship was with Lola Baer, and her first duties included sweeping up.

"I'm convinced you must learn this business from the ground up, and that means literally! When you sweep the floor, you learn the importance of a pin. In time you develop a special feel for the touch of cloth, and begin to understand how a piece of work can be spoiled — or improved — by ironing."

"I'm glad I'm part of a world that still exists," she says, "in which it's possible to give individual attention to both the garment and the customer."

A holiday surprise

AMIT, the Jerusalem Volunteer Association for Mutual Assistance, which has worked with the "Forsake Me Not" fund recently received a large contribution from overseas with the stipulation that it be used to help individuals. The Amit executive decided to send Pesach gift packages to 150 needy elderly folk in Jerusalem.

Amit co-chairman Vivian Dinitz approached the manager of her local supermarket in Nayot, asking whether despite the holiday rush, his staff could make up the packages and deliver them. He was so enthusiastic about the idea, she reports, that he charged wholesale price for the goods and organized the deliveries free of charge.

Mrs. Dinitz later spoke to the delivery boys. Helping the elderly to celebrate the festival was one of the most uplifting experiences of their lives, they said, offering to make more deliveries if more orders of this kind come in. They had found some people living in appalling conditions, with little hope of anything to brighten their lives. Many had been overwhelmed by the surprise food gifts.

Readers of *The Jerusalem Post* dug deeper into their pockets on the eve of the festival, adding \$565,908.10 to the "Forsake Me Not" total, which now stands at \$1,827,117.54.

Overseas "Forsake Me Not" donors were:

\$20 In honour of the 50th birthday of Shraga Mendelsohn — His brothers and sisters-in-law in Norway, Sweden and the U.S. with their families and relatives.
\$50,000 Daniel Hovav, Haifa.

\$55,000 In blessed memory of our late father whose constant prayer was "Cast me not off in the time of old age; when my strength fades, forsake me not." May the Lord accept our humble thanks.

\$125 In memory of our Israeli soldiers who fell in the war in Lebanon — Rosalind Kahn, New York, N.Y.

\$100 Mitzvah contribution from Mr. and Mrs. David L. Cass, Skokie, Ill.

\$54 In memory of our brother William Becker — Florence and Abe Mahn, Whitesboro, N.Y.

\$36 Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Morgenstern, Jerusalem. In memory of Bert Lebow — Mr. and Mrs. Jack Segal, Philadelphia.

\$200 Anonymous, Mannheim West Germany.

\$20 Harry J. Itkin, Montreal, Canada.

\$18 In honour of our grandchildren Jennifer, Meira and Joshua Elyon of Charlottesville, Va. and Aviva and Tamar Elyon of Ocean Township, N.J. — Rabbi and Mrs. Abraham J. Elyon, Rock Island, Ill.

\$15 Henry Cooperman, North Miami Beach, Fla.

\$5 In memory of my father Joseph Hellman on his birthday — Katinka Bachar, St. Paul, Minnesota. In memory of my friend Lida Weiss of Haifa — Madame Mendelsohn, West Palm Beach, Fla. In memory of my beloved parents Marthe A. and Henri Dreyfus — M. Pierre Dreyfus, Luxembourg.

The Toy Fund increased by only \$2,161.40 last week and is now trailing well behind Forsake Me Not with \$1,300,995.65.

Contributions should be sent to *The Jerusalem Post*, P.O.B. 81, 91000 Jerusalem, Israel. Remember to make out separate cheques for each fund and to type or block print all names intended for publication.

\$10 In honour of little Lot, granddaughter of my dear friend Lida Lichutz — Pauline Kahn, New York, N.Y.

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Talmud scholar Saul Lieberman



Talmud sage, Saul Lieberman died on March 23 while on an airliner from New York to Israel. He was 85.

For many years a luminary of New York's Jewish Theological Seminary, Lieberman had homes both in New York and in Jerusalem. He was a noted expert on the Talmud Yerushalmi.

Lieberman was born in 1898 in Mutol, near Pinsk, and studied in the yeshivot of Munch and Slobodka. In the 1920s he studied in the University of Kiev, spent some time in Eretz Yisrael and went on to study in France.

In 1931 he was appointed lecturer in Talmud at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

From 1940 he taught at the Jewish Theological Seminary, where he became rector of the rabbinical school.

Apart from various books on the Jerusalem Talmud, Lieberman contributed major studies on the Hellenistic influence on Judaism in the first centuries of the Christian Era.

In 1971 Lieberman was awarded the Israel Prize for Jewish Studies. He was a fellow of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities and a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

He was a son-in-law of Rabbi Meir Bar-Ilan (Berlin), the Mizrahi leader.

Bottom of the list

TORA AND FLORA/L.J. Rabinowitz

SPRING is heralded by the blossoming on Tu B'Shvat of the almond, in Hebrew *shaked*, or the "hastener". The first harvest, that of barley, comes exactly two months later. The offering of the *omer* of barley on the second day of *Pessah* was a ceremony marking its availability. The counting of the *omer* is still observed for the seven weeks between *Pessah* and *Shavuot*, but historical circumstances have turned this period into one of semi-mourning instead of joy.

In both biblical and talmudic times, barley was regarded essentially as animal fodder, and only rarely as fit for human consumption. The Talmud (*Kiddushin* 62a) actually applied a phrase in Isaiah 1:19, regarded for that purpose as meaning "Ye shall be fed with the sword," as referring to "hard-baked barley bread". The Talmud points to Kings I, 5:8, where the stores assembled by Solomon include "barley and straw for the horses" as evidence of the fact that it was essentially animal fodder (*Pes.3a*).

The description of the ravages of famine in Jerusalem when it was besieged by the Romans include the story of Martha, the daughter of Boethus, a very wealthy woman, who sent her servant to buy fine white flour. When he returned and reported that none was available, she sent him for ordinary white flour, with the same result, and then for poor quality flour. Finally, in despair, she tells him to get barley, but even that had been exhausted.

I have an idea that this story lies behind a peculiar omission. The Sephardim have evolved an extensive order of service for Tu B'Shvat which includes the eating of every available fruit, each accompanied by the reading of an appropriate passage from the Zohar.

Those first taken are naturally the products mentioned in Deuteronomy 8:8, where the choice agricultural products of the Land of Israel, but barley is missing, and only the other six receive due notice.

Rabbi Haim Mantel, 73

TEL AVIV — Rabbi Haim Mantel, professor of Jewish history at Bar-Ilan University, died on March 19 aged 73. Mantel, who specialized in the Second Temple period, was born in Vienna and educated at religious institutions in Hungary and at Harvard University.

He leaves his widow and a son.

Loan fund to aid returning Israelis

A \$1 million loan fund for returning Israelis will soon be set up jointly by the Absorption Ministry and the World Zionist Organization.

Loans will be used to help pay for flight tickets and transport of household goods.

Easy-to-wear elegance

Helga Dudman finds Ruth Wollenberg's atelier an oasis of haute couture.

Haute couture in her sense doesn't mean a wardrobe full of ball gowns, but rather clothes that are, as she puts it, "young, sporty, easy to get in and out of, easy-to-wear and yet elegant, with the workmanship and hand-finish that means lasting quality."

Wollenberg advises clients to spend more money on, say, a tweed suit that will last for years, than on an evening dress destined to be worn relatively few times.

At her atelier *haute couture*, as distinguished from the "instant fashions" of the ubiquitous modern-day boutiques, basically means something made well and just for the customer by somebody using good quality materials, who knows exactly what she is doing.

Wollenberg likes natural colours and fibres, and believes in the power of accessories to change the

personality of any costume. She dislikes synthetics, frills and fussy details, and believes in styles "that please men but don't irritate women friends."

Her personal *haute couture* look often involves wearing blue jeans. Trim and mini-waisted, she looks marvellous in them, and loves them for travel with her engineer-husband whose jobs frequently involve going abroad. With her always-immaculate jeans, she may wear a white cotton shirt, a wide Gucci belt, or high leather boots.

An elegant and athletic grandmother, with some amazing life experiences, Wollenberg plays tennis, skis (snow and water), hikes, and is as much at home with the Nature Protection Society as at a Paris fashion show.

"My profession is very mixed up with psychology. I think I sell self-

confidence as well as fashion. It's included in my price," she says. When a client arrives who needs a dress for a wedding, "I'll ask three questions — how big a wedding, where it's to be, and whether the atmosphere is religious. By then the customer will start talking about herself, and from then on it's easy."

Born in Poland, Wollenberg says she had a very spoiled childhood until she was put into a labour camp in Siberia, during World War II.

"We worked hauling wood and played games that involved describing food," she recalls. It was there that she first began to make clothing: She designed and sewed — out of rags — a kind of hooded face-covering for fellow workers in the freezing camp. Wollenberg's price was three potatoes, and her products were an instant success — "except that after a few

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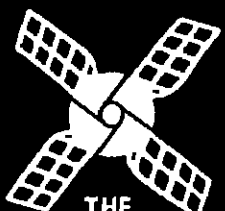
These serene depictions of the Holy Land have delighted art lovers and Orientalists for more than 100 years. The complete work of 19th-century artist David Roberts is now available in a deluxe, five-volume boxed set.

The Holy Land contains 123 full-colour facsimile lithographs (90 of them in their original size) photographed from the 1842 first edition of hand-coloured prints, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, London.

The 1982 edition is 24 x 33.5 cm. (9 1/2" x 13 1/4"), printed on superior quality 170-gram paper, with gold-stamped bindings on each of the five volumes: Jerusalem, Galilee and Lebanon, Judea and Jordan River, Samaria and Idumea, The Desert.

Each lithograph depicts a part of the Holy Land as seen by Roberts in the mid-19th century. Opposite each work is a colour photograph of the scene as it appears today. Accompanying text is excerpted from Roberts' private journal of his 1839 trip to the Middle East, with commentary by his contemporary, Rev. G. Crolley. Introductions by Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek and Professor Menasha Har-El.

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The discovery of scientific marketing

IT IS POSSIBLE to double Israel's exports without making any new infrastructure investment, thus effortlessly converting (even in these hard times) our "rippling trade deficit into a thriving trade surplus."

The method is to do properly something that has not been done properly up to now: marketing.

Who says so? Haim Rosenblum, of the Recanati School of Business Administration in Tel Aviv University. How does he know? Because he and his colleagues have tried it out. An activity is being run jointly with the celebrated Wharton Business School at Pennsylvania University. It is called the Wharton-Recanati Multinational Marketing and Management Programme (MMMP). Six business companies a year are treated to an exercise, which has been found to transform their prospects.

Wharton and TAU together charge each company \$7,500 for doing a market research programme that would cost, if commissioned from an outside firm, between \$50,000 and \$100,000. A group of post-graduate students, working for their master's degree, put in three months on the investigation at the Israeli end. Their report, together with a video-tape record of key interviews, is despatched to the Wharton School where a group of American students take over.

The two universities perform the job as case-studies for their students, and to open the eyes of business executives. Doing real investigations instead of simulated ones also helps develop the whole science of market research. But from the point of view of the client companies, the projects are more than theoretical exercises. Their impact on business policy is turning out to be little short of revolutionary.

Expectations among the rank and file in the business world were understandably modest. After all, what could a research team recommend? Improved marketing techniques, no doubt; a larger budget for salesmen; and so forth. But a number of them came in were of a different order. The industrialists found they were told not just how to sell — but what to manufacture.

But does the customer really comply with the market researcher's predictions? Earlier projects by MMMP suggest that he generally does. The Kitan Company produces many textile products, although none for the American

The sale of a number of Israeli products have been given a boost overseas by an imaginative system of marketing carried out jointly by experts here and in the U.S. 'The Jerusalem Post's' DAVID KRIVINE reports.

market. What did the market research people have to say about that?

They learned that Kitan offered three categories of goods: jogging suits, women's semi-fashion wear, and bedclothes. Their report, after six months of research, concluded that Kitan had best forget (for the U.S. market) about the jogging suits and fashion wear.

They should concentrate on one item: flannel bedsheets. The material is warm, and Kitan has a technique for making it soft-feeling. It is also easily laundered and does not have to be ironed.

But the size is wrong. The Americans are used to a longer overhang over the bedside. The pictorial design must be rectified. The item is a quality product and the different styles should each have a name — Sharon, Erica or whatever.

To cut a long story short, Kitan is exporting flannel bedsheets (of all things) to the U.S. — for millions of dollars a year.

NEGEV PHOSPHATES thought it ridiculous to even consider selling their mineral to a phosphate-exporting country like the U.S. Besides, think of the shipping expenses, this being a bulk product.

When MMMP applied their minds to the topic, they discovered a lot of interesting facts, notably two: it can cost just as much, if not more to transport phosphates by rail from mine to factory inside the U.S.

Second, they made a detailed analysis of the particular kind of phosphate required in different processes. Each user-company was cross-questioned about the ideal chemical properties it favoured. A number of them opted for the kind that Israel produces. It was found to match their requirements better than most of the American varieties. Result so far: \$700,000 of export.

ACADEMIC DIRECTOR of MMMP in Israel is Prof. Dov Pekelman, administrative director is Tal-Aluf (Res.) Miel (short for Yerahmiele) Dori. Academic director in the U.S. is Prof. Leonard



Haim Rosenblum

Lodish. Other leaders of the project across the Atlantic are Prof. Jerry Wind (formerly an Israeli), also Prof. Edward Shills (who heads the Entrepreneurial Centre at Wharton).

These names are worth mentioning, because the professors cited are all top consultants in marketing and are interested — for good Jewish reasons — in giving Israel a leg-up in the area of their speciality.

Each study is carried out under their personal supervision. Prof. Lodish comes to Israel every year and visits all six plants, meeting with the general managers. A marathon ten-day seminar is held in Wharton on the six projects completed during the year.

Impressive is the precision and detail of the research work done. No subject is too humble: Osem's petit-beurre biscuits, for example.

Investigators interviewed distributors and buyers in chain-stores. They stood in supermarket aisles to see who purchases the Osem product. They took down names and addresses and did a follow-up on the customers: did you buy the same biscuits again, do you remember their brand-name, was the price right, and so on.

If the client finds an item cheap, MMMP not infrequently recommends rendering it more expensive. A higher mark-up gives leeway to the distributor for advertising, and encourages the retailer to provide better shelving, which promotes sales.

MUCH OF THE RESEARCH concerns what must be described as low-technology products, which would on the face of it not be considered exportable at all. A study made of Elite products pinpointed waffles as a likely winner. If packed differently they could be sold not only in shops — but through vending-machines.

The investigators approached a vending-machine company in Philadelphia, which agreed to cooperate in an experiment. Each packet of Elite waffles would contain a questionnaire. The information received from the enquiry was embodied in the recommendations, among them one for a change in the range of flavours.

To determine what the waffles should be sold for, butcheries were displayed in different shops at different prices, with consumer reactions noted. All this information is under study at Elite, and many of the ideas will be applied.

Tagum sells 15 products round the world, including surgical gloves to Europe (but not to the U.S.). MMMP recommended that lower-priced disposable gloves made of natural rubber be produced for the American market. Result: a new line launched, with 5,100,000 pairs currently sold per annum.

THIRTY YEARS AGO the Israel Productivity Institute introduced the concept of productivity in this country — and it caught on like wildfire, helping to start the first phase of Israel's industrialization. The MMMP seems to be having a similar catalytic effect in the field of marketing.

Haim Rosenblum, aged 31, is officially termed co-ordinator of MMMP, and devotes himself full-time to the venture. He sees it as the beginning of something big. Scientific marketing need not be confined to the U.S., Israel has other export outlets. A start has been made with a French university, to research selling opportunities in the Common Market.

Kibbutz Deganya owns a company making agricultural sprayers. It did not think of exporting to America; now after a study by MMMP its sales to that country have reached \$500,000 a year. Says the manager of Deganya Sprayers, commenting on the introduction of modern marketing techniques: "Some people are good at aiming a bow and arrow. But why rely on that antique method when telescopic sights are available?"

Irrigation deal

TEL AVIV. — A large deal to supply drip irrigation systems was recently made between the kibbutz-owned Netafim company and Aqua-Nova, a U.S. firm.

Aqua-Nova is a subsidiary of Southside, the largest cotton seed company in the world. Aqua-Nova will buy from Netafim \$5.5 million worth of drip irrigation systems to be used to irrigate 10,000 acres of cotton fields in Arizona.

WINES. — In Israel's first wine-tasting competition at the Carlton Hotel this month, Stock Montfort Sauvignon blanc (dry) and Emerald Riesling (semi-dry) were selected as the top white wines. The judges selected Ben-Ami Rouge from the Askalon cellars as the winning dry red wine.

Bank's profit overseas

LONDON. — Bank Leumi UK has reported net profits for 1982 after tax and transfer to inner reserves of £638,000. This compares with £471,000 in the previous year. The directors have recommended a final dividend of seven pence on an increased share capital, making an unchanged total dividend for 1982 of 10.15.

The bank has five branches in London, of which two are located in the centre of the city and three are in residential areas with a high percentage of Jewish population.

Meanwhile, Bank Leumi (France) increased its profits by 75 per cent before tax and by 26 per cent after tax in the financial year ending December 31, 1982. The bank has six branches in France — two in Paris and one each in Lyon, Marseille, Nice and Strasbourg.

The balance sheet of the chain grew by 21 per cent in 1982, to stand at Fr.2,353 million at the end of 1982. Before-tax profits grew from Fr.6.5m. in 1981 to Fr.11.4m. in 1982. After-tax profits rose from Fr.3.4m. in 1981 to Fr.4.3m. in 1982.

Export furniture

TEL AVIV. — A group of investors from Israel and Switzerland has established a new furniture concern, named the David Group, which plans to build a major factory at Ma'ale Adumim, the new Judean desert town, east of Jerusalem.

The new factory and other projects of the group, according to Joseph Maimon, will be based on advanced Italian designs and technology. The group will spend \$5 million on the plant and showrooms in Dizengoff Centre here. The plant will manufacture home and office furniture and kitchens, stressing exports to the U.S.

The principals of the group include Nissan Khakshouri of Zurich, one of Europe's leading dealers in fine carpeting.

BRIEFLY

By MACABEE DEAN
The Ramat David metal works has drawn up a \$5 million expansion plan to meet growing local and foreign demand.

Sixty R & D projects, with a total investment of \$25 million are now being carried out by the Association of Kibbutz Industries.

Kibbutz Ein Hahoreah is investing \$750,000 in setting up an assembly line to produce carton boxes.

The Dafon plant in Petah Tikva, which manufactures a variety of paper items, has during the past few weeks received orders totalling \$1m. from buyers in England, Denmark and Holland.

The plastic works in Kibbutz Ginnegar recently set up a partnership with an American company which will distribute the plastic sheets it makes.

The Lilit perfumery works has received a £10,000 order for its moisture cream from an English cosmetics firm.

Three million dollars is being invested by Kibbutz Erez in the Negev to set up a plastics plant.

Kibbutz Sarid plans to buy the equipment and know-how of an English plant, now facing financial problems, which makes honing stones.

Hapoalim in 'world banking league'

By MACABEE DEAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The total consolidated assets of Bank Hapoalim grew by 16.8 per cent in 1982, to stand at \$22.2 billion, and profits grew by 28.3 per cent, to \$138.5 million, general manager Giora Gazit said last week in releasing the bank's financial statements.

The figures in shekels show that the balance sheet grew by 9.2 per cent in real terms, to stand at IS749b., while profits in real terms grew by 20 per cent, to IS4.6b.

Gazit termed these figures "impressive, not only within Israel, but also on the international banking scene, since they will place Bank Hapoalim high up on the list of banks with high profits." He cautioned, however, that the gap between expenses and income from banking procedures had narrowed considerably in 1982.

This was mainly due, he said, to the bank paying high interest on deposits and various savings schemes while charging what he called unrealistically low interest on loans to customers. In the future, he warned, these interest rates would have to be more "realistic."

Moreover, he noted that the sum set aside for doubtful debts had increased by 290 per cent (this figure



Giora Gazit

is not inflated), to IS358m. This was mainly due to loans made in the U.S. to what was considered two "very solid firms," which could not make repayment on time. However, Gazit said that "we do not believe that these sums are lost, although payment may be delayed."

Bank Hapoalim avoided making loans to firms or government agencies in certain developing countries, or to such agencies in East Europe, as some Western banks had done. Some of these banks lost heavily

In light of the bank's achievements in 1982, the board of directors has decided to recommend to the annual general meeting that shareholders be given bonus shares of 150 per cent.

Gazit said that Bank Hapoalim in 1982 continued to be a major provider of credit to the economy, counting among its clientele most of the country's top one hundred industrial corporations. The bank was also a leading source for import and export finance.

Moreover, the bank assumed a leading position in underwriting new issues on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange. It acted as the principal underwriter for 27 issues, which raised a total of \$200m., representing 27.2 per cent of the overall capital raised on the exchange.

As for its overseas activities, the groundwork was laid last year for opening a subsidiary bank in California, another one in France, as well as representative offices in Santiago, Chile and Rio de Janeiro.

The network in Israel last year increased its staff from 4,691 to 10,263 in an effort to provide better service

Discount group had \$40.3m. profit

By MACABEE DEAN

TEL AVIV. — Total profits of the Israel Discount Bank group increased from \$35.3 million in 1981 to \$40.3m. in 1982. The percentage of profits contributed by the bank's overseas activities, however, dropped, according to financial statements released last week by board chairman Rafael Recanati, and Eli Cohen, the chairman of the executive committee.

While in 1981 overseas profits, mainly from activities in the U.S., stood at \$15m., or 42 per cent of the total, last year they dropped to \$14.3m., or 35 per cent. This was mainly the result of a bad year suffered by the outlet in Montevideo.

The balance sheet of the consolidated banking group, however, grew from \$9.7 billion in 1981 to \$11.6b. in 1982. The share of overseas banking activities grew from \$2.3b. in 1981 to \$3b. last year. Recanati pointed out that when



Rafael Recanati

considering the relative size of the Big Three banks, it is important to realize that Leumi and Hapoalim include most of their non-banking activities in their financial statements while at Discount there is a distinct separation. Only by combining all the activities of Discount Bankholding Corporation, the parent company of the Discount Banking group with its other ac-

tivities, such as the vast holdings of IDB Development, could a fair comparison be made.

If the 1982 figures for the banking group alone are given non-inflated in shekels, the balance sheet rose by 1-7.4 per cent, to IS3,946,229 million; deposits rose by 159.7 per cent, to IS284,834m. Loans rose by 142 per cent, to IS78,613 m.; capital means rose by 181 per cent, to IS12,771m.; and net after-tax profits went up by 146.4 per cent, to IS1,358m.

Profits per share rose from \$9 per cent in 1981 to 195 per cent last year. While 75 per cent bonus shares were issued in 1981, last year the percentage of these shares reached 100 per cent. However, in 1981 a 30 per cent cash dividend was granted; this year there was no such dividend.

The banking group has 170 branches in Israel. The total number of workers is 7,181.

Jobs threat

By LEA LEVAVI

Jerusalem Post Reporter
TEL AVIV. — Hundreds of workers in small plants and workshops are in danger of losing their jobs after Pesach because their employers cannot compete against "dumping" imports. They are also not in a position to afford more modern machinery, leaders of the association of Craftsman and Small Manufacturers warned at a press conference here last week.

Ya'akov Frank, chairman of the association, said his members are not asking the government for handouts. They want the same subsidized loans to buy new equipment which go to approved enterprises in development areas. "Until about six years ago, we were able to replace obsolete equipment on our own and to keep up with technological advances, but since then doors have been closed to us," he said.

ariel

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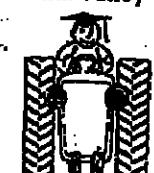
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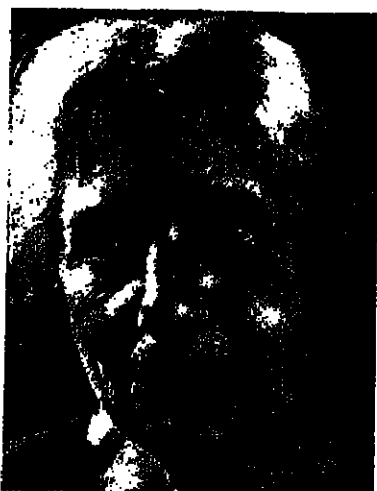
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High	Low	Prices in U.S. dollars	On	Off	High	Low	Prices in U.S. dollars	On	Off
11.12 to 11.13	11.12 to 11.13	(IS39.26 - 51)	17.33	14.13	11.12 to 11.13	11.12 to 11.13	(IS39.26 - 51)	17.33	14.13
10	10	BANKS							
10	10	Leumi	16	20	5.70	1.17	INDUSTRY		
10	10	Hapoalim Reg	11	11	10	10	Alliance (10)	19	19
10	10	Leumi Holding Ordinary (20)	11	11	46	37	Amer. Paper Mills	19	19
10	10	Morah Reg (5)	11	11	10	10	Argon (20)	19	19
10	10	NORTH ATLANTIC BANKS	11	11	14	12	Asahi (5)	19	19
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THE UNIQUE ACHIEVEMENTS OF HENRIETTA SZOLD

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — If Youth Aliya celebrated its 50th anniversary in January 1983, it was a year too soon. The official date is February 19, 1984, which will commemorate the arrival in 1934 of the first Youth Aliya group at Haifa for settlement in Ein Harod. 1983 is also a year late for the celebration of Recha Freier's "idea, a great and uplifting Zionist concept which she willed and worked into being." This passage occurs in every one of the many histories and reports on Youth Aliya written by the undersigned as well as in the countless tributes by Henrietta Szold to "the founder of Youth Aliya."



Henrietta Szold

But what about history in the making? From February to May 1944, the Yishuv celebrated Youth Aliya's 10th anniversary when the movement received international press coverage. Elementary research would have also disclosed succeeding and appropriately dated anniversaries. To name a few: Youth Aliya's semi-jubilee in 1959 attended by such notables as Eleanor Roosevelt, Queen Elizabeth of the Belgians, the Earl of Balfour and including a study tour by representatives of 13 countries on the Executive of the International Union of Child Welfare.

A specialists' seminar in group care in June 1969 marked Youth

came to fruition on February 19, 1934.

But why all this emphasis on dates? My concern and that, I hope, of thousands of Youth Aliya graduates and madrichim stem from the apparent intent to relegate Miss Szold to the status of a mere functionary who "counted out certificates, balanced budgets and had good relations with the British," as reflected in the interview with Mrs. Freier of January 28. What a travesty of justice to the woman who, for its first decade, stood at the helm. Her unique gifts as educator, administrator, social worker and humanitarian made Youth Aliya an unparalleled instrument for rescue and rehabilitation.

MARIAN G. GREENBERG, First Chairman of National Youth Aliya Committee of Hadassah 1936-40. Amherst, Mass.

Anniversaries celebrate events, not ideas nor preliminaries. Theodor Herzl electrified the Jewish world with the publication of Der Judenstaat in 1896. But who dates the birth of Israel from the first World Zionist Congress or the UN Partition Resolution? On May 15, 1948, it all came together with Israel's Declaration of Independence. On a much smaller scale, all the ideas and organizational steps for Youth Aliya

DEFIANCE OF THE LAW

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I heard with amazement Dr. Ram Ishai, Chairman of the Israel Medical Association, urge the 4,500 doctors at the Mann Auditorium to ignore the back-to-work orders, and Dr. Shmuel Friedman, the spokesman for the Israel Medical Association, proclaim: "If and when the first doctor is taken away to jail, we will immediately pull every doctor out of every hospital in the country." I read with despair that, of the 3,000 doctors who received the back-to-work orders, not one honoured them; during this rally, not one of the 4,500 doctors present had the conviction and courage to get up and say: "Colleagues, think for a minute what you are doing!" This open, organized defiance of the law makes me fear for the future of this country.

Surely denying the doctors' Hippocratic oath and depriving the

public of vital medical services are sufficiently lethal steps and will cause needless suffering. How can a true doctor reconcile this thought with his conscience?

But, even more, lethal to the society in which we live is this display of contempt for the law and the back-to-work orders legally issued. No individual or group can take the law into his own hands. This contempt for back-to-work orders will only breed contempt for future back-to-work orders.

If the educated, intelligent medical community openly defies back-to-work orders, others will do the same in the future. As sympathetic as one may be to the justice of the doctors' claims for increased salaries, there is no justification whatsoever for undermining the laws of the state which, after all, differentiate a civilized society from a jungle. BENJAMIN J. BARISH Ramat Aviv.

INVITATION TO SHARON

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post I am appalled by the recent decision made by Young Israel of America to invite Arik Sharon as guest of honour at its 71st convention on March 20. How can a religious organization supposedly based on the principles of "Torat true Judaism" justify such a move at this time? According to The Jerusalem Post, Harold Jacobs, president of the organization, remarked: "We will give Sharon a royal welcome, as befits one of the greatest Israeli heroes and the architect of the brilliant victory in Lebanon."



Arik Sharon

One would assume that an Orthodox Jewish group would consider carefully the person on whom it wishes to bestow such honours. How can Harold Jacobs and Young Israel ignore the findings of the Kahan Commission? The commission stated conclusively that the former defence minister is directly responsible for not having done more to prevent the massacre of Palestinian civilians by the Phalangists in Sabra and Shatila.

Young Israel of America, in claiming to represent an authentic Judaism, has rejected the prophetic call for justice. Its invitation to Arik Sharon repudiates the attempt by the Kahan Commission to ensure the moral and ethical standards of Israeli society. Celebrating Arik Sharon contradicts Micah's call "To do justice, love mercy and walk humbly before your God." RABBI JONATHAN PERLMAN Beersheba.

SCHOOL OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — During the exciting week of Succot in Jerusalem, I visited the Western Wall in the Old City and then waited in line near Jaffa Gate, to board one of the buses, to return to the Central Bus Station. The crowding people, attempting to do the same, were probably the right environment for a pickpocket's activity.

I noticed later that I had returned minus my wallet, which contained a sum of money and documents of personal value. A detective at the police station, used to such complaints, took down the details and

shrugged indifferently. Time went by, and the incident seemed closed. Unexpectedly, four months later I received a letter written by a schoolchild:

"Dear Freed, — We the children from the fifth grade at Ben Yehuda School, Jerusalem, on a tour through a garden in the vicinity of the railroad station, found your wallet with enclosed documents. Please get in touch with our teacher."

This was the nicest day since our aliya. Thank you, dear children. Thank you teacher. Tel Aviv. FREED WEININGER

BRITISH HYPOCRISY OVER ENVOY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — As a British citizen, I feel compelled to write to you and let you know how I and many of my friends feel about our British hypocrisy in the matter of the suggested nomination of Elihu Lankin as Israel's Ambassador to Britain.

Has the world forgotten the Archibishop Makarios of Cyprus was arrested and exiled to the Seychelles for his terrorist activities? A few years later, he was installed in the governor's residence in Nicosia and the British were bowing and scraping to him. The part he played in the death of many British servicemen was forgotten.

Anything Israel does is wrong in the eyes of the nations. But never mind — you have the greatest



Archbishop Makarios

power of all on your side — that of Almighty God.

MARGARET LAMERTON Taunton, Somerset.

TV NEWS IN ENGLISH

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — As a delegate to the recently held Third World Assembly of Jewish War Veterans in Jerusalem, I noted with some concern the complete lack of English language on Israel television news. What was even more disturbing was that one could readily view news in English from the Jordan TV station.

It would seem that this omission should be urgently rectified so that viewers with English language capability only could at least see news that is not slanted toward the Arab side.

LIONEL MANUEL, Honorary Secretary, Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women London.

HELPFUL MOTORIST

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Last week, on a particularly cold and rainy evening, I had the misfortune of puncturing a tire whilst driving along the Gela highway. The time was 7.15 in the evening and, although several cars passed and must surely have seen me standing in the rain next to my car with its hazard lights blinking, no one deigned to stop to find out whether he could help me.

Finally, when I had almost despaired, one motorist did stop — a young Arab man from Nablus. Although he informed me that he was already late for a meeting in Jerusalem, he was kind enough to change the wheel for me, becoming completely soaked in the process, and refused any remuneration for his trouble.

MRS. P. YARDEN Tel Aviv.

THE NATURE OF OUR HEALTH SERVICES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Much has been said about the rights and wrongs of the doctors' strike. One of the questions that keeps coming up in my mind is what kind of health service we had when it was functioning so to speak.

I have every understanding for the case of the young doctors, whose pay slips more or less resemble those of junior clerks, who had dropped out of school at the age of 16 and acquired their professional experience in some commercial enterprise, which entitles them to this kind of salary by the time they are 25. But no matter how justified the grievances of the young doctors, I still cannot see why the entire community of doctors had to go on strike. Most of them are known to make a very decent living indeed.

Most disturbing of all, is the strike of the sick funds. It is a long-known fact that the only real advantage that membership in a sick fund has is the right to hospitalization. For the rest of it, the sick fund doctor is generally impatient with his patients. They queue up for hours until their turn comes to get in, then

are out in no time. This is adequate for colds, upset stomachs and similar ailments, but not for real illness when the patient eventually consults a private doctor or, which is worse, the sick fund doctor privately, for against remuneration, he gets a different kind of treatment altogether. If he pays these days 151,500 for the first visit and 151,000 for the second, he gets to see a doctor by appointment and receives the full attention he deserves as a patient. Rightly convinced that everything has been done to help him get well again, the patient is so relieved that he forgets that he is a member of a sick fund into which he has been paying his dues for years in order to get the treatment he requires free of charge.

I am sure that everyone has had his own experiences with one sick fund or another, and I call upon the public to speak out now, not only about the immorality of this strike, but also about the nature of the health service this country has tolerated for so many years.

TOVA KORN Tel Aviv.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

FRIDAY, MARCH 25, 1983

A matter of tone

REPORTS from both the U.S. and Israel indicate that relations between the two countries are undergoing some improvement.

Last Monday Defence Minister Moshe Arens announced that this country would make available to the U.S. secret information about the Lebanese war. The following day the Pentagon disclosed the sale of 200 Sidewinder air-to-air missiles to Israel. A day later the U.S. Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, Lawrence Eagleburger, expressed the hope, in a television interview, that regrettable incidents such as the Beirut confrontation between Israeli troops and U.S. marines would not recur.

The significance of these small steps towards American-Israeli "normalization" need not be exaggerated. Israel, it is true, now has a defence minister whose policy it is to underline the commonality of interests with the U.S., rather than the differences that periodically arise. But the U.S. Secretary of Defence, Caspar Weinberger, is still giving no sign that he has changed his view of Israel as an ally in nothing more than name.

Also, Mr. Arens' decision to lift the veto imposed by Ariel Sharon on the transfer of war lessons to the U.S. was a unilateral act. As for the sale of the Sidewinder missiles, this involved a speed-up of procedures, nothing more.

The punitive measures lately applied to Israel in the military field as demonstrations of U.S. displeasure with aspects of Israeli policy all remain in force: the suspension of the memorandum of strategic understanding, the embargo on the delivery of 75 F-16 fighters.

Washington is evidently anxious to point out that, even though some pressure may be exerted on Israel, on such issues as the withdrawal from Lebanon, this country is not being pushed against the wall. The American — mainly the State Department — fear is that an Israel driven to desperation might retaliate by acting wildly. An Israel confident of America's basic amity, on the other hand, would be readier to make concessions.

How extensive the common ground is in fact, is another question. Lately it has doubtless been expanded in the matter of Lebanon by Israel climbing down from erstwhile demands. But disagreements remain deep seated. Currently the U.S. is supporting the Lebanese, against Israel, in their adamant opposition to the setting up of Israeli "warning stations" and to the retention of Major Sa'ad Haddad as head of his militias in the South.

On the West Bank, the magnitude of the American-Israeli cleavage is only being hidden by King Hussein's reluctance to plunge into the "cold waters" of peace negotiations, at least until the U.S. has shown its clout by arranging for the IDF's pullback from Lebanon.

Dry Bones



The Friday Dry Bones



THURSDAY, MARCH 24, 1983

A national embarrassment

EVERYBODY sympathizes with the financial plight of large families. A system of family allowances exists already. Now the government, pressed by the Tami party, is increasing them further for households with four children and more.

But the way it is being done can only evoke disapproval. The measure did not figure in the government's trillion-shekel budget. In other words there was no revenue to pay for it. A last-minute decision to reimpose a travel tax was Mr. Aridor's dubious solution.

Had it been a genuine act of social reform, place would have been found for it in the original Treasury estimates.

The government's belated espousal of a provision which has not achieved the requisite priority in the national work-plan for 1983/84 indicates that it is primarily a pay-off for Tami. And, of course, Agudat Yisrael has made sure that its constituents will benefit as well.

Improvised measures are apt to be ill-planned. The large-family benefit, started by Labour governments, was originally intended for the dependents of ex-servicemen only. That could be explained as a deserved compensation for the years of service at the expense of civilian careers.

But many yeshiva students are exempt from conscription. Agudat Yisrael made sure that they obtain compensation as well, through another channel. As a result the line was drawn not between soldiers and non-soldiers but between Jews and Arabs.

The measure for increased benefits now pushed through by Tami serves to deepen and highlight the discriminatory nature of this legislation.

Carrying on

IT IS NOT entirely clear just how many new settlements are to be set up on the crests of the thickly populated Samaria hills under a decision passed last week by the Ministerial Defence Committee. The ministers are reported to have decided on eight, but the government's agent in this matter, the World Zionist Organization's Settlement Department, claims there are enough funds for only five new permanent civilian settlements, mostly converted military outposts, and three new such outposts.

What is entirely clear, however, is that, by this decision the government has taken a fateful step towards the forcible annexation of Judea and Samaria.

Annexation, in all but name, is, of course, the policy of the present Likud administration. Yet back in May, 1977 when the Likud came to power, there was still some hope that the option would not be sealed by settling Jews in and around the main Palestinian population centres. When Kiyat Arba's Rabbi Moshe Levinger sent his female contingent to occupy Hebron's deserted Hadassah building, Prime Minister Begin himself cried "foul."

This is now history....

The latest decision is certain to be swathed with rhetoric about the right of Jews to live peacefully side by side with Arabs throughout Eretz Yisrael. But it bodes not peacefulness but belligerence, not coexistence but separation.

At the very least it promises to be another nail in the coffin of the autonomy plan, once hailed as the great hope for an agreed solution of the Palestinian problem.

MONDAY, MARCH 21, 1983

The chill factor

THAT FACT that a country enjoys free institutions does not necessarily imply that its people believe in freedom. During the McCarthy years a majority of the American people turned thumbs down, in poll after poll, on the Bill of Rights. Today the people of Israel, whose country is the only true democracy in the whole Middle East, are indicating, in poll after poll, their fear of freedom.

According to a recent Dahaf poll by Dr. Mina Zemach, over one third of all Israelis would prefer a non-democratic form of government, or at least a form in which leaders are independent of political parties. Another one sixth of the people simply don't care whether their country is or is not democratic. Nearly one half take a dim view of the Knesset and its workings.

These are minorities. One aspect of free government, however, gives rise to the opposition of a majority. No less than 65 per cent of all adult Israelis believe that the mass news media are harmful to the national interest, and should be curbed. A year ago this view was held by "only" 51 per cent of the people.

Is it the occasional raucousness of criticism voiced from the Knesset floor or by the media that bothers such people? This is not very likely. The resentment is directed at the very notion that persons not in authority may take liberty to criticize those that wield authority. Opposition to the government of the day is by itself unpatriotic, so the argument seems to run, and must be muted.

It would be foolhardy to believe that these authoritarian sentiments are not deeply ingrained, and are only dependent on the character of the government of the day. But the recent steep rise in the number of opponents of the free press suggests that it would be equally foolhardy to assume the reverse: that the massive propaganda issued by the country's present political leadership is not, in itself, at least partly responsible for popular attitudes.

The Dahaf poll is cause for the deepest worry. For a democracy that is not backed by the overwhelming majority of the people cannot long expect to remain free.